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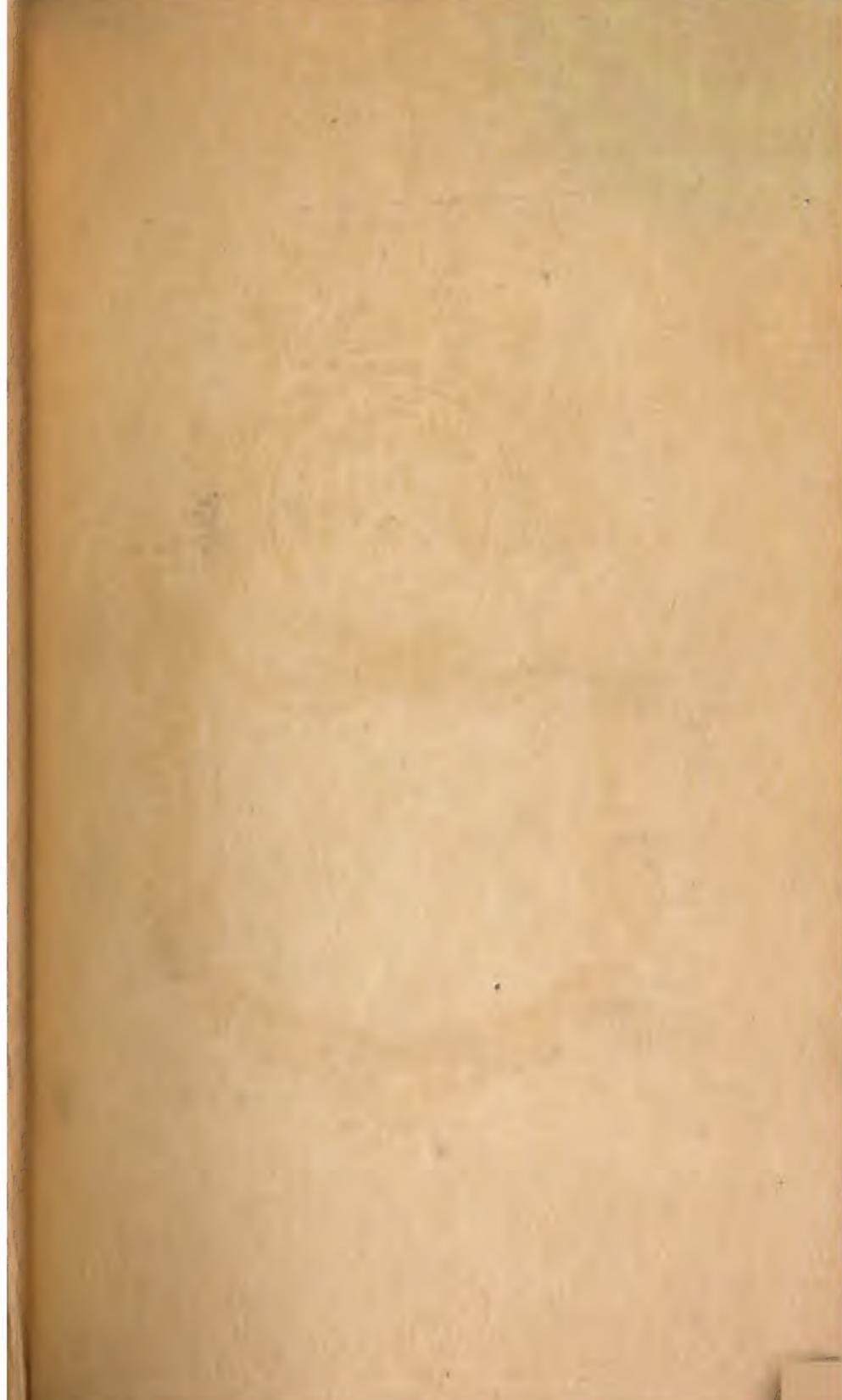
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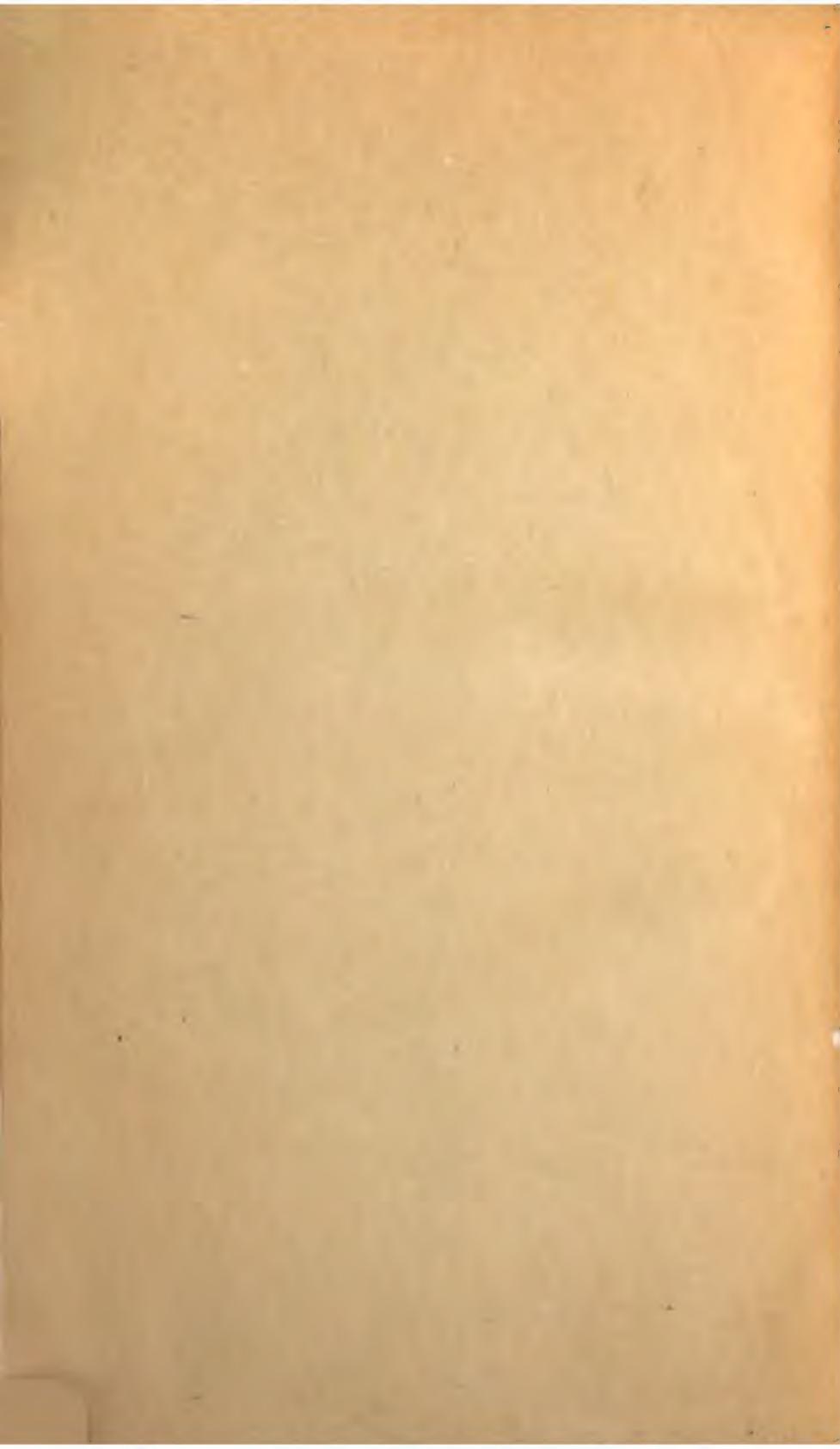


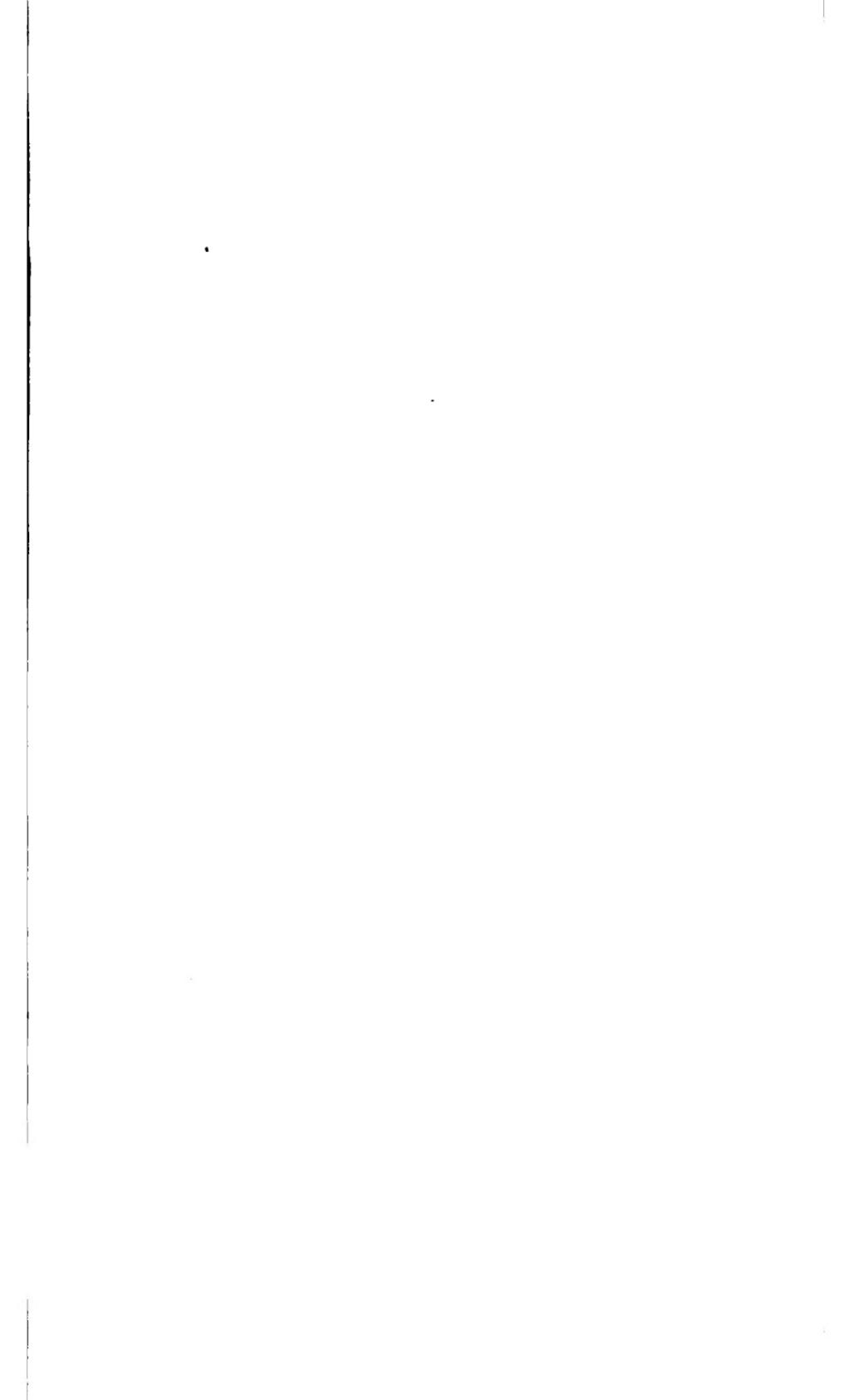
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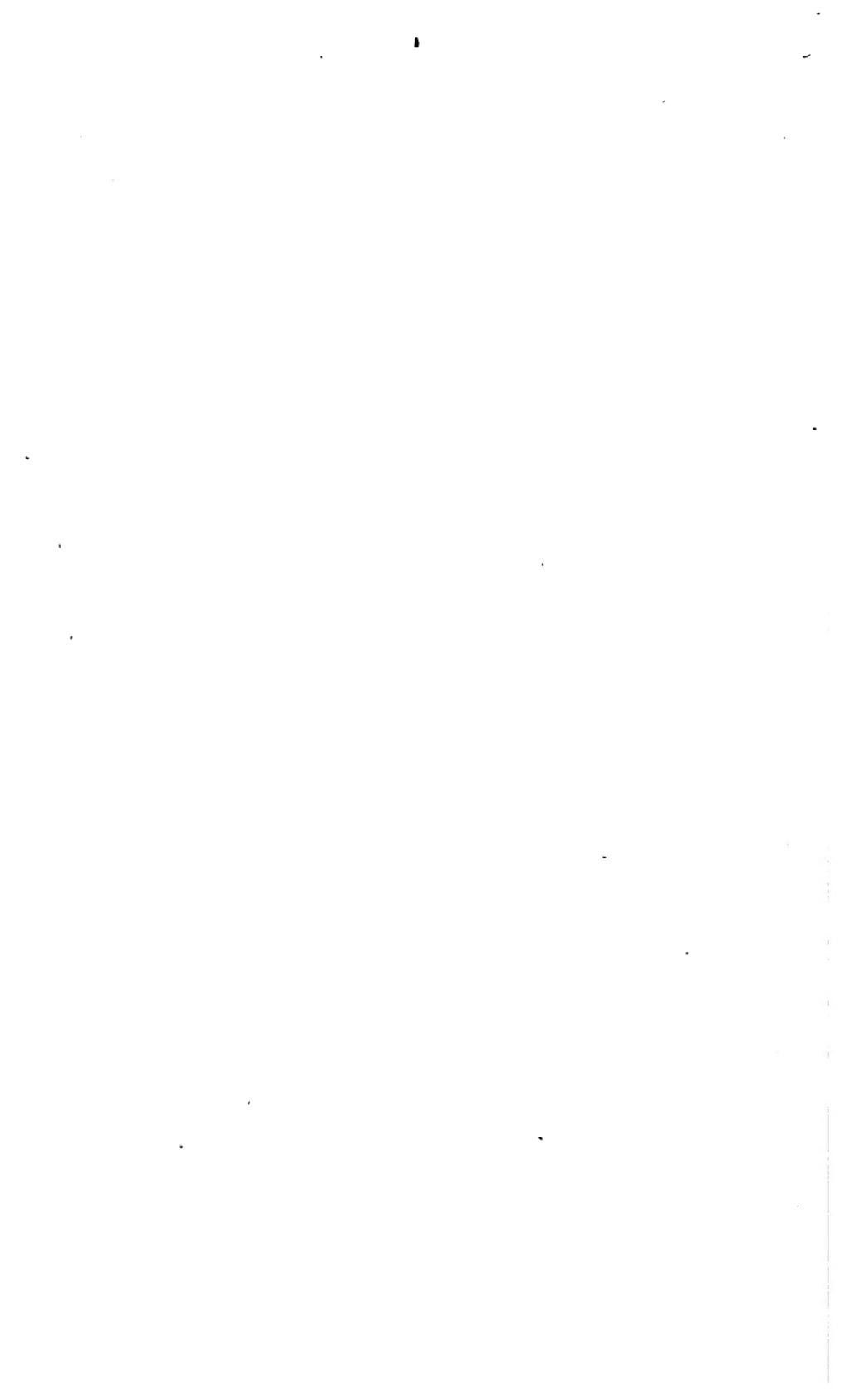






Rec'd July 26. 1832.









LIFE
OF
ANDREW MELVILLE:

CONTAINING
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND
LITERARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,
DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE SIXTEENTH AND
BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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CHAPTER VIII.

1592—1596.

CHANGE of professors in the New College—James Melville becomes minister at Anstruther—and at Kilrenny—his disinterested conduct—John Jonston—learned Englishmen invited to Scotland—Melville elected rector of the university—firmness displayed by him in that office—he sits as an elder in the kirk session of St Andrews—his conduct as a member of presbytery—death of Erskine of Dun—public affairs—Arran's return to court frustrated by the firmness of the ministers—conspiracy of the popish lords—their excommunication and criminal process—reasons of the king's partiality to them—calumny against Melville and his nephew as favourers of Bothwell—loyal disposition of the ministers of the church—Melville's reasoning before the Lords of Articles—he accompanies the expedition against the popish lords—who leave the kingdom—Melville's poem on the birth of prince Henry—his broil with Balfour of Burley—death of chancellor Maitland—renovation of the Covenant—return of the popish lords—the court renew their designs against the liberties of the

church—singular interview between the King and Melville—his share in Black's declinature—tumult in Edinburgh.

SINCE the year 1586, Melville had met with no molestation in the performance of his academical duties. Nor did any thing deserving of particular notice occur in the College during this interval, except the changes in the professors who taught under him.

James Melville, from the time that he finished his studies at the university, intended to devote himself to the service of the church as a parochial minister; and the only thing which had prevented him from gratifying his predilection for this employment, was a conviction that his assistance was necessary to his uncle at the commencement of his literary operations. The affairs of the theological seminary at St Andrews were brought to such a settled and promising state, that, with the consent of all parties, he, in the autumn of 1586, accepted of a call from the parish of Anstruther, to which he was soon after admitted by the presbytery *. His prede-

* “ 1586. 22. day Oct. being Sonday, Mr James Melvill our ministair now began and ministered the sacrament of Baptisme as afir follows in Anstruther.” (Register of Births, &c. in Anstruther.) In the records of that session the name of *Andrew Melville*, an elder, frequently occurs; and as the witnesses at baptisms were generally the relations of the parents, it is probable, from the following minute, that he was allied to the Prin-

cessor, William Clark, a pious and laborious minister, had been burdened with the care of the neighbouring parishes of Kilmuir, Pittenweem and Abercromby; according to the vicious arrangement which the court, in concert with the spoilers of the ecclesiastical revenues, had sanctioned *. James Melville entered on the same extensive charge, but it was with views very remote from those of a necessitous and mercenary pluralist. By his exertions with the parishioners, and with the proper courts, separate ministers were settled at Pittenweem and Abercromby, in whose favour he relinquished the proportions of stipend due to him from these places. He had brought with him as an assistant, Robert Dury, a connection of his own †. To him he demitted the charge of Anstruther with all its emoluments, while he himself removed to Kilmuir. Thus, in the course of three years, he provided a minister for each of these four parishes, which had been long deprived of the dispensation of divine ordinances, or had enjoyed that benefit but

cipal. " 1588. 25 Junii. Andro Melvill, a chyld baptisit called Andro. Witnes Mr Andro Melvill." (Ibid.)—" 3 November 1590. Androu Melvill, ane child baptizit, called Robert. Witnesses thomas Morton of Cambo and Sr Jo^a Melvill of carnbie." (Record of Kirk Session of Anstruther.)

* Melville's Diary, pp. 1, 101. " Mr W^m Clerk min^r of ye kirkis of Kylmarnie and anstruther deceissand in ye month of feb^r 1583"—no person was placed in his room on the 8th of June 1585. (Reg. of Present. of Benef. vol. ii. f. 133.)

† James Melville had married Elizabeth the daughter of John Dury, minister of Edinburgh and afterwards of Montrose. Robert Dury, if not a son, was at least a relation, of that minister. He married Elizabeth Ramsay, and one of his children was

partially and occasionally *. On his settlement in Kilrinny he built a manse almost entirely at his own expence. The legal funds for supporting the minister being alienated, the parish had voluntarily bound themselves to pay him an annual stipend. This he relinquished for a sum of money ; and with it, added to what he could borrow from his friends, he purchased from the family of Anstruther the right to the vicarage and tythe-fishes. Instead of taking his title to these from the laird of Anstruther as tacksman, in which case he would have secured the repayment of what he had expended, he entered to the benefice by presentation and institution, as actual minister ; thus securing it to his successors in office, and leaving his family to providence, and to the sentiments of justice and gratitude with which the future incumbent might be inspired. He paid the salary of the schoolmaster out of his own stipend ; and as the parish was populous, and he was often called away on the common affairs

presented to baptism by George Ramsay of Langraw. (Session Rec. of Anstruther, May 18. 1605, and March 8. 1607.) "Mr Androw Meluill" was a witness to the baptism of a son of Dury's, named Andrew, and a daughter, Margaret. (Ibid. March 18. 1592.)

* The minutes of the kirk-session of Anstruther Wester, contain the following most natural expression of disappointed love, on their minister's leaving them. Had he taken that step "for any worldly respect," it might have been difficult for him to have read it without a pang of remorse. "Mr James Meluill took his guid ny^t from yis cōgregaⁿ ye said monet of october 1590 yeⁿ and took him to kylynnie to be yair minister. God forgif him yat did sa, for I know and saw him promes yat he suld

of the church, he constantly maintained one to assist him in his parochial duties. Indeed, his whole conduct in this affair exhibits a rare example of ministerial disinterestedness, which, in this calculating and knowing age, will be in danger of passing for folly, not only with the professedly worldly, but even with those whose spirituality is so exquisitely sensitive as to shrink from the very idea of a legal or fixed provision for ministers of the gospel *.

James Melville was succeeded, as professor of Hebrew, by his cousin Patrick Melville, who had held the same situation at Glasgow †. About the

never laif ws for any vardlie respect sa lang be lyvit except be var forsait be ye kirk and his Ma. bot nevir being forsait aither be kirk or his Ma^{te} leift ws." (Ib. October 6. 1590.) The town of Anstruther Easter belonged to the parish of Kilranny.

* Melville's Diary, pp. 2—9. After stating that he had expended 3,500 merks on the manse, and 2,400 merks on the tiends, he says: "My frind wald ask, What I haiff for my relieff of sic soumes. I answer, the favour and prouidence of my guid God. For giff he spear my dayea, with rest in his kirk, I hope he sall utreade all my dettes.—Gif not, and the Intract be worthie of the reoum of this ministrie, God and his conscience will moue him to pay the deat resting; giff he will not, the grieff and los will be graitter to haiff sic a man in the room, nor of myne to pay my deatess whowheit they sell the books and plenessing for y^e effect.—As for the Town and paroche the benefit indeed is thairs: let them y^efor, as I hope they will, consider thair dewtie &c.—I man ernestlie admonische the hous of Anstruther nevir to mein to accalamme againe the tytle and possessioun of thay teiade—for I promise heir a curse and malediction from God upon whosoever sall intromet and draw away the comoditie y^eof from the right vs of sustening of the ministrie of Gods worshipe and of the salvation of Gods peiple," &c.

† "M. Patricius Melvin" signs the Articles of Religion in the

same time John Caldeleugh was employed to teach as a fourth professor *. Robertson continued in the college until the year 1593, when he either died or resigned his situation, and was succeeded by John Jonston. Jonston was a native of Aberdeenshire, and of the family of Creimond †. After finishing the ordinary course of study at King's College in Aberdeen, he went abroad, and continued during eight years to cultivate polite and sacred letters at the most celebrated universities on the continent ‡. Having gained the friendship of the

University of St Andrews in 1587, and in the following year he was chosen one of the Rector's assessors.

* Grant by James to Mr John Caldcleugh, anno 1588. (MS. in Bibl. Fac. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. i. 12.) This ratifies and dispenses to him "the 3d place of the Lectors and professors of the said new Colledge," and assigns to him "for his stipend yearly Three chalders of victuall together with a Hundred pounds money." It states that he had been chosen by the Commissioners for the reformation of the university and had taught within the said college continually since that time. But it appears from the Commissary Records that Andrew Melville, James Melville, and John Robertson were the only professors between 1580 and 1584.

† John Jonston calls himself "Aberdonensis" in the title-page of his *Heroes*; but this does not necessarily imply that he was born in the town of Aberdeen. In his Last Will he constitutes Robert Johnstone of Creimond one of his executors, and bequeathes a small legacy to the laird of Caskibben. "Item I leaye to Mr Rob' Mercer person of Banquharie, my ald kynd maister, in taiken of my thankful diewtie, my quhyt cope w' the silver fit."

‡ *Consolatio Christiana*, per Joan. Jonstonum, p. 4. In 1587, he was at the University of Helmstadt, whence he sent a MS. copy of Buchanan's *Sphaera*, to Pincier, who published a second

chief foreign literati, and spent some time in England, he returned to his native country. Jonston was at the same time a scholar, a poet, and a divine. Melville, who had heard of his reputation abroad, was so much pleased with him on a personal interview, that he never ceased until he procured him as an associate in the work of theological instruction *. His admission was opposed by Caldcleugh, who thought himself entitled to Robertson's place, and had recourse to legal measures to enforce his claim; but he not only lost his cause, but was also deprived of the situation which he already held in the college †.

About this time the King invited Hugh Broughton, the celebrated Hebrician, to Scotland ‡. I should have mentioned before, that Melville joined in an invitation to Cartwright and Travers, the two well-known English non-conformists, to come to St

edition of that poem, with two epigrams by Jonston. (*Sphaera, a Georgio Bvchanano Scoto. A 5, 6. Herbornæ, 1587.*) In 1587, he was in the University of Rostock, whither Lipsius wrote him in very flattering terms, acknowledging the receipt of a letter and a poem from him. (*Lipii Opera, tom. ii. pp. 49, 50.*) In 1591, he was studying at Geneva. (*Hovæus, De Reconciliatione: Epist. Ded. ad Joan. Jonstonum. Basil. 1591.*)

* *Consolatio Christiana, ut supra, pp. 4, 5.* In the Dedication of that work (4. eid. Feb. 1609.) Jonston says he had been only 14 years in the University of St Andrews—"binas annorum hebdomadas." But "Mr Jhone Jhonesoun maister in ye new college" was elected one of the elders of St Andrews "Die xxviii^o mensis Novembris 1593." (Record of Kirk Session.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 226.

‡ Strype's Life of Whitgift, (A. 1595.) p. 432.

Andrews, on the erection of the theological college in that city *. These invitations were not accepted.

In the year 1590, the venerable James Wilkie, principal of St Leonard's College, and Rector of the university, died. Robert Wilkie succeeded to the former of these places. Melville was elected Rector ; and continued to hold the office, by re-election, for a number of years. He had more than one opportunity of shewing his resolution and prudence as chief magistrate of the university. In these times, when the students formed a separate community under a jurisdiction independent of the town in which they resided, frequent feuds occurred between them and the inhabitants. The students of divinity at St Andrews had fitted up a place in the garden of their college, in which they might take the favourite amusement of shooting with the bow. Caldcleugh, "one of the masters of theology, but scarce yet a scholar in archery," amusing himself one day with this exercise, over shot the mark so far, that his arrow, flying over several houses, lighted in the neck of one Turnbull, a maltman, who happened to be passing through an adjoining lane. The wound was neither mortal

* Fuller's Church History, vol. ii. p. 215. That historian has inserted the letter, of which he possessed the original, under the year 1591 ; but it bears internal marks of its having been written in 1580, before Melville left Glasgow. It was subscribed, according to Fuller, "Ja^o Glasney (Glasguen.) Academie Cancellarius. Alaynus (A. Hayius) Rector. Thomas Smetonius Decanus. Andreas Melvinus Collegij p^refectus. Mr David Wems minister Glascoviensis."

nor dangerous ; but some individuals who were inimical to the New College laid hold on the accident to inflame the minds of the inhabitants. A mob, collected by the ringing of the town-bell, forced the gate of the college, and finding Melville's chamber secured, called for fire, and threatened to burn the house, with all that were in it, unless Caldcleugh was instantly delivered up to them. By addressing them from a window, and flattering some, and threatening others, Melville succeeded in gaining time, till his friends assembled and rescued him from his critical situation. The town council, yielding to the popular clamour, took up the cause, and insisted that the rector should renounce all right to judge in the affair, and find security to produce the aggressor before them, or the lord of regality, provided Turnbull's wound proved mortal *. Some of his friends, alarmed at the storm raised against the university, went and gave the security which was demanded ; but he refused to compromise his authority, or allow the outrage to pass unpunished. The magistrates were, accordingly, called to account, and obliged to delete the obligation from their records. The ringleaders of the riot were brought to trial, and would have been severely punished, had not Melville put a stop to the prosecution, upon their submission, and giving bond for their future peaceable conduct †.

He was no less ready to fortify the authority of

* See Note A.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 225—6.

the magistrates of the town, when assailed by the turbulent and ambitious, than he was to assert the rights of the university. The affairs of the borough had been grossly mismanaged under the direction of Learmont of Dairsie, who had for many years held the office of provost. In the year 1592, the burgesses, availing themselves of their right, elected another individual as chief magistrate. Incensed at being excluded from an office which he considered as hereditary in his family, Dairsie sought to revenge himself on his principal opponents ; and Balfour of Burley, one of his friends, repeatedly entered St Andrews during the night at the head of an armed force, and committed depredations upon the inhabitants. At length having assembled all his retainers, Dairsie prepared to make a more daring attack on the town. Melville, being informed of this, assembled the members of the university, persuaded them to take arms in defence of their brethren, put himself at their head, bearing a white spear, the badge of his rectorial office, in his hand ; and having joined the forces of the town and of some neighbouring gentlemen, went out to meet Dairsie, and gave him such a reception as discouraged him from repeating his turbulent and illegal aggressions *.

Among his other employments, Melville acted for a number of years as a ruling elder in the congregation of St Andrews. It was evidently a matter of importance that kirk sessions should con-

* Melville's Diary, p. 226.

tain such individuals within their bounds, as, in addition to religious qualifications, possessed the greatest wisdom and authority. In boroughs, it was the almost invariable custom to have some of the elders chosen from among the magistrates; a circumstance, which, connected with the nature of the offences usually tried, and the punishments decreed against them by the legislature, led to that apparent confounding of the two jurisdictions, with which those who happen to look into the ancient records of kirk sessions are struck, as an anomaly, and a contradiction to the principles of the presbyterian church. At the beginning of the Reformation, the kirk session of St Andrews were in the habit of calling in the principal professors of the colleges, and taking their advice, in the decision of the most difficult causes which came before them *. From experience of the benefit derived from their advice, it came to be the common practice to choose a certain number of elders

* In the cause of divorce, Rantoun against Gedde, the sentence runs in the following terms: " We ye minister and seniors of y^e c^r Christian cōgregation within ye parochin of Sanctandros Judges in the actioun and caus meved—In pna (presence) of Mr Johne Dowglass recto^r of ye vniuersitie of Sanctandr. Johne Wynrame Supprior men of singular eruditiooun and vnderstanding in ye Scriptures and word of God, with Mrs Williame Skene and Johne Rotherfurde men of cunning in sundry sciences, w^t quhome we cōmunicatet the secretes of the merits of ye said actioun and caus being be ws and them hard and seane &c." (Record of Kirk Session of St Andrews, March 21. 1559.) Causes of divorce were tried before the reformed church courts previous to the erection of the commissary courts.

from the university every year *. Upon the same principle ministers or preachers who happened to reside in the town were taken into the session ; and it may startle our southern neighbours to learn, that even archbishops were chosen to be ruling elders, and did not think themselves degraded by occupying an inferior form in the lowest court of the presbyterian church †. The general law of the church was, that the elders and deacons should be chosen by the voice of the congregation over which they were placed. But deviations were made from this law at an early period, and in some congregations the formal election was assumed by the session ; although the people still retained a right to add to the list of nominees, as well as to object to those who were chosen upon the serving of their edict. The office of an elder in those times was far from being merely nominal. The members were bound to give regular attendance on the weekly meetings of session. The town and parish of St Andrews was divided into districts, and over each of these a certain number of elders and deacons were appointed as in-

* The same practice was observed at Glasgow. (Extracts from Rec. of Kirk Session of Glasgow: Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 28. MSS. vol. 3.)

† "The names of Eldars and Deaconis chosin vpon ye xii daye of october 1571. Eldars. Mr Johne Douglas archbishop & rector of Sanotandrs. Mr Thomas Balfour, Mr John Rutherford, Mr W^m Cok, Mr James Wykic &c." (Rec. of Kirk Session of St Andrews.) Mr Robert Wilkie was chosen an elder immediately after he resigned the pastoral inspection of the congregation. (Ib. Jan. 20. 1590.)

spectors and visitors, to delate offenders, and report on the case of the poor. Such elders as were professors appear to have been exempted from this part of duty, in consideration of their academical charge; but they were required to assist the pastors in the examination of the congregation before the communion *. The session took cognizance of all open violations of the moral law; such as, profane swearing, sabbath-breaking, undutifulness to parents and other relations, neglect of the education of children, drunkenness, slander, backbiting, and even scolding, as well as breaches of chastity. There are examples of their proceeding by way of inquest in trying certain causes. And in some sessions it was the custom, as a preparation for the communion, to nominate a certain number of elders as arbiters; and such members of the congregation as were at variance with one another, were publicly warned to attend on a particular day, and submit their differences to an extra-judicial decision. The session was no less strict in the inspection which it exercised over its own members. At their entrance to office they were sworn to observe the sessional statutes, and a day was annually fixed for administering the *privy censures*, which, at that period, were something more than a form. On that occasion, the ministers, elders, and deacons were removed, one after another; their conduct, both in and out of

* Record of the Kirk Session of St Andrews, April 16, 1584, and April 9, 1589, compared with the minute of December 5, 1593.

court, was judged of by the remainder; and each was commended, admonished, or reproved, as his behaviour was thought to have merited *.

Melville had been instrumental in procuring for St Andrews two faithful and laborious ministers, David Black and Robert Wallace. The former of these, in particular, was most indefatigable in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and exerted himself in reviving the ecclesiastical discipline, and in providing that the different members of his session should perform their respective duties in the most efficient manner. By these means he effected, during the short period of his incumbency, a striking reformation on his people, in the restraint of vice, the increase of religious knowledge, and the suppression of pauperism. To strengthen the hands of this zealous minister, was one great object which Melville had in view in undertaking the office of an elder, which he accepted in 1591, and continued to hold until Black was forced from St Andrews †.

As a member of presbytery, Melville attended and took part in *the weekly exercise*. Two members, according to the order of the roll, delivered each a

* See Note B.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 215, 237. Buik of Univ. Kirk f. 167, a. Rec. of Kirk Session of St Andrews, Nov. 11, 1590—December 1596, *passim*. “Erat hic Blackius (says Calderwood) et virtus et sinceri animi laude omni memoria dignus. Delectus ad Fanum Andreæ Minister, ita Ecclesiam illam administravit, ut in tanto populo (sunt enim plures quam 3000 qui Sacram Coenam percipiunt) nemo mendicus consiperetur, nemo Sabbatum auderet violare.” (Altare Damasc. p. 751.)

discourse at the weekly meeting of presbytery. The one explained a passage of Scripture, and the other stated and briefly illustrated the doctrines which it contained ; after which the presbytery gave their opinion of the performances. In their form these discourses bore a resemblance to the *Exercise and Addition* in our modern trials for license and ordination. Such students of divinity as were recommended by their professor were allowed to take part in them, after they had given a satisfactory specimen of their gifts before the presbytery, in, what was called, the *private exercise*. A contribution was sometimes levied from the members to purchase commentaries on those parts of Scripture which were explained, for the use of such as were deficient in books ; and this laid the foundation, in several instances, of presbytery libraries. In the year 1597, the General Assembly enjoined an additional exercise to presbyteries. Once every month a question relating to some point in divinity controverted by the adversaries of the truth, was substituted for the ordinary subject of presbyterial exercitation. One of the members in his turn discussed the question ; after which, he defended his thesis against the objections started by his brethren. The discourse was delivered in English before the people : the disputation was held in private and in the Latin language. In point of form, our modern *Exegesis* corresponds to this performance. The presbytery of Aberdeen were considerably later than their brethren of the south

in opening this theological palestra, but they appear to have entered very much into the spirit of the exercise; for they agreed that "the head of controversy should be handled every fourteen days," and their minutes inform us, that the brother who took the lead in it "did marvellous." This fact may perhaps help to account for the superior dexterity which the *Doctors of Aberdeen* afterwards attained in the use of controversial weapons, and which they displayed so conspicuously in their celebrated contest with the champions of the Covenant. Whatever may be in this, it cannot be doubted that the presbyterian exercises were useful in sharpening the judgment, and served to excite the ministers, and particularly the younger part of them, to diligence in their private studies *.

During the Tulchan Episcopacy, a number of persons had been inducted into parishes, who were destitute of gifts, or who laboured under other disqualifications. Presbyteries, for many years after their erection, were employed in remedying the evil. The General Assembly repeatedly appointed commissioners to assist in this work; giving them power, along with the respective presbyteries which they visited, to try all actual ministers, and to suspend or deprive those whom they found unqualified. In consequence of this, several individuals were deposed from the ministerial office in different parts of the country, others were suspended for a time, or trans-

* See Note C.

lated to more obscure corners, and others were admonished of their deficiencies, and exhorted to give themselves to reading and study. The measure was unquestionably an extraordinary one, and may be blamed by some as an undue and unwarrantable stretch of authority. But it shews the zeal for the credit and usefulness of their order with which the ecclesiastical courts were at that time animated ; and it will be difficult to prove that the essential end of the pastoral function—the edification of the people—ought to be sacrificed to the punctilio of ordinary form, or that it should be indefinitely postponed from respect to personal rights irregularly and unjustly acquired during a corrupt administration *.

Melville exerted himself with much success in the plantation of vacant parishes within the bounds of the presbytery of which he was a member. When he first came to St Andrews there were not above five parishes provided with ministers ; but in the course of a few years the number had increased to sixteen. This object was effected chiefly by his exertions, joined to those of his nephew and David Black †. Spotswood takes no notice of this meritorious service ; but he details with great minuteness the particulars of a dissention which arose in that presbytery on occasion of the settlement of the parish of Leuchars. The presbytery (he says) divided as to the candidate most fit for the charge, Melville

* See under the last mentioned Note.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 237, 243.

being at the head of the one party, and Thomas Buehanan of the other. Impatient of contradiction, and irritated at being left in the minority, Melville made a secession, along with those who supported him, and constituted another presbytery in the New College. At the desire of the provincial synod of Fife, the synod of Lothian sent three of their members to compose this disgraceful strife. Melville defended himself by pleading, that the candidate preferred by his opponents was not to be compared with the individual whom he supported, and that votes ought to be weighed and not numbered. And the umpires could find no other way of restoring peace than that of dividing the presbytery into two, and appointing the one to meet at St Andrews and the other at Cupar *. It has been shewn by a contemporary writer that the archbishop has misrepresented and grossly exaggerated this affair †. To gain the greater credit to his narrative, Spotswood says that he was one of the delegates appointed by the synod of Lothian to reconcile the parties. The minute of that appointment is now before me. It mentions that "a little dissention" had fallen out among the members of the presbytery of St Andrews, who had agreed to submit themselves to certain brethren ; it specifies the four ministers whom the synod licentiated to go to Fife on this business, and also

* Spotswood, Hist. p. 386.

† Calderwood, Epist. Philadelphi Vindicata : Altare Damasc. p. 722.

those who were appointed to supply their place during their absence ; but Spotswood was none of them, nor does his name occur in the minute *.

The archbishop does not conceal that he introduced this story to shew, that Melville was incapable of brooking submission to the parity which he had established, and that presbyterian government natively tends to produce discord and division. But who does not perceive that such a mode of reasoning is frivolous and inconclusive ? Did the archbishop, amidst the multiplicity of his secular avocations, forget the "contention," very similar to that which he describes, between Paul and Barnabas, which was "so sharp that they departed asunder one from the other?" or, would he have pronounced it also "to be ominous, and that the government, which in the beginning did break forth into such schisms, could not long continue?" Wherever affairs are decided by a plurality of voices, a difference of opinion, and consequently opposition, may be expected to arise. In supporting measures which they believe to be conducive to public good, men of honest and independent minds will display a warmth and an earnestness, which, to the selfish, the timid, and the temporizing, will appear to be excessive and intemperate. And as they are men of like passions with others, their zeal, even when exerted in the best of causes, will occasionally hurry them beyond

* Record of the Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweedale, October 3. 1592.

the bounds of reason and moderation. But the enlightened friend of a free government will repel with scorn all objections founded on the partial inconveniences or incidental evils to which it may lead. Though not more in love with discord and contention than other men, he knows that ebullitions of this kind are inseparable from the spirit of liberty, and that they are often productive of good. He is convinced that there is a necessary and honourable, as well as a hateful and ungodly, strife. He is perfectly aware, that where all things are subjected to the arbitrary will of an individual, dissension and dissent are alike precluded. But he knows also that this is the harmony and peace which is to be found in the prison and the grave; and he would prefer the disunion and even uproar by which a deliberative assembly is sometimes shaken, to the appalling tranquillity and death-stillness which reign in the courts of despotism.

Before resuming the narrative of public transactions, it is proper to notice the death of John Erskine, the venerable superintendent of Angus. This enlightened and public-spirited baron will be remembered as one of the early and most distinguished patrons of literature in Scotland. In the wars against the English, he had displayed his courage and love to the independence of his native country*; he embarked with great zeal in the struggle for the reformation; and after the triumph of that cause,

* Beague's History of the Compagnies 1548 and 1549, pp. 10, 40, 57—62.

served the church first as a superintendent, and afterwards as a parochial minister *. When incapacitated for active employment by the infirmities of age, he retained his literary habits, and continued in his closet to pursue the studies connected with the sacred profession to which he had devoted himself †.

* On the 24th of March 1574, " Thomas Erskine lauchfull sonne to Johne Erskine of Dwn" was presented to " the personage and vicarage of Dwn."—On the 6th of August 1575, " Our soureine lord being informed—of his weilbelouit Johne erskine and of his lang travellis in the ministerie w^tin the kirk of God," presents him to " the personage and vicarage of Dwn—vacand be deceis of M. James Erskine ;" and requires the superintendent of Fife to admit him, " seing it is knawin he is qualifit." (Register of Present. to Benefices.)

† Dedicatory verses to *The Winter Night*, a poem. The dedication is inscribed : " To the right godly worshipfull and vigilant pastor in Christs kirke, Johne Erskin of Dun—James Anderson Minister of Collace, wisbeth grace, &c." The excellence of this small work does not lie in the poetry ; but it went through several editions. That of 1599, mentioned by Herbert, I do not consider as the earliest one. I quote from Andro Hart's, printed about 1614. The following is the concluding stanza in the address to Erskine :

I can not dite as thou hast done deserue,
 In Kirk & court, countrey and commonweale,
 Carefull the kirk in peace for to preserue :
 In court thy counsell was stout, and true as steele,
 Thy policie decores the country well,
 In planting trees, and building places faire,
 With costly brigs ouer waters plaine repaire.

The poem itself begins thus :

The winter night I think it long,
 Full long and tough, while it ouergang

His death took place on the 16th of October 1592, and in the eighty-second year of his age *.

The affairs of the kingdom were still in a very unsettled state. His Majesty, after his return from Denmark, had promised to reform his administration, and having assembled the chief barons, exacted from them a pledge that they would lay aside their deadly feuds; but he held the reins of government with such a weak and unsteady hand, that these scenes of lawless disorder were renewed, and murders, accompanied with circumstances of shocking atrocity, were perpetrated with impunity in the

The winters night I think so long
 Both long and dreigh till day,
 Full long think I the winters night,
 While daye breake up with beams so bright
 And banish darknesse out of sight
 And works of darknesse, Aa.

The winter night that I of meane
 Is not this naturall night I weine,
 That lakes the light of the sunnesbine
 And differs from the day.
 But darknesse of our minde it is
 Which hides from us the heavens blisse
 Since Adam first did make the misse
 In paradise that day.

* Act Boik of the Commissariat of St And' Oct. 25. 1593, and Apr. 19, 1594.—Spotswood fixes his death, by mistake, on the 12th of March 159 $\frac{1}{2}$. He also represents him as "leaving behind him a numerous posterity." (Hist. 384.) But his Will mentions only "his son and air and Margaret Erskine his daughter" who were minors, and whose "tuitioun gyding & keeping" he left to "his weilbelovit spous Margaret Kaith thair mother."

very heart of the kingdom*. James had pledged himself to his parliament to rule by the advice of his counsellors, and, "to suffer none to intervene betwixt his Highness and them in the credit of their offices †." But the spirit of favouritism was too strong in his breast to suffer him to adhere long to this course, and his ablest statesmen found their best measures defeated by the secret influence of the companions of his amusements, and such as had otherwise insinuated themselves into his good graces. Captain James Stewart, who had formerly rendered himself so hateful to the nation under the name of Earl of Arran, presumed at this time to present himself in the palace, and met with such a reception as clearly to shew that he still retained a place in his Majesty's affections. With the view of establishing himself at court, and in the hopes of regaining his former station, he applied to the presbytery of Edinburgh, professing great regard for the church, and offering to give satisfaction to them for any offences which he might formerly have committed. But the presbytery met his advances with the most discouraging coldness, declined receiving

—“The noble and potent Lord Robert Lord Altrie” (probably Mrs Erskine's brother) was one of their “*intouris testamentaris*.”

* Richard Preston of Craigmillar, a gentleman of excellent character, was basely stabbed to death, when he was in the act of giving alms to his murderer, David Edmonston, who had accosted him under the disguise of a pauper. *Simsoni Annales*, p. 62. The Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh at this period furnish examples of a similar kind.

† *Act Parl. Scott.* iii. 562.

his suspicious submissions, and told him that the sincerity of his repentance behoved to be demonstrated by more visible tokens of reformation, and a longer course of trial, before they could indulge a good opinion of his character*. They at the

* After the presbytery had refused, on the request of his uncle, Lord Ochiltree, to appoint some of their members to converse with him in private, Captain James Stewart appeared before them. After hearing what he had to say, and informing him that it belonged to the General Assembly to judge of his conduct, "the brether assurit him that they culd haif na opinion bot euill of him for ocht that zit they saw; and schew that it wald no^t be woordis bot gude deidis that wald chang y^t myndis, and y^tfor as they judgit euill of the thingt that ar past, sua they culd no^t judg weill of him for the tyme to cum, till they saw alsomekis of his gude as they [had] sene of his euill. And y^tfore was exhortit that gif thair was ony kind of pieti, ony godlines or religion into him that he suld schaw y^t fruict yrof be a better repentance nor they had sene, and wtter y^t effect in gude deidis, qubilk gif he suld doe, as thair is mercie w^t the Lord, sua the brether wald judg of him according to his warkis, bot in cais he had cum thair for the fassones sake to insinuatt him self into the bosome of the kirk that yrby he my^t creip in the favo^r of the princie, and sua mak a cullo^t of all to the end that he my^t accomplish the rest of the mistereis of his iniquities & euill warkis, Then he was seaharply aduertisit that that God q^u he had hiterto mockit, and for that caus had hiterto dejectit him with schame, sua gif he continevit in his mocking that sam God sall deject him and cast him down agane w^t greiter schame & confusoun nor of befor." Lest a false report of their proceedings should be given, the presbytery appointed certain of their number to go to the palace, "to informe his ma^tis of the things that wer done, and to schaw that they as zit culd persaif na appearance of gude in that man, bot rather that he continevit still in his former peyde, and y^tfore desyrit thame to exhort his ma^tis that as he laiffit the weill of the kirk, the weill of countrey, and respectit his awin hono^r that he suld geive na countenance nor place to that man to

same time appointed a deputation to wait upon his Majesty, and to warn him against admitting such a dangerous person into his counsels. In consequence of this, Stewart retired in despair of being able to accomplish his purpose. This firmness on the part of the ministers was highly applauded by all who understood the true interests of the nation; but it exposed them to the undisguised resentment of the King *.

The uncommon activity of trafficking priests within the kingdom, joined to obscure intelligence received from abroad, in the latter part of the year 1592, excited strong suspicions that the popish party were about to renew their treasonable attempts against the public peace. In these circumstances Melville came over to Edinburgh to attend an extraordinary meeting of his brethren. The precautionary measures suggested by him were unanimously agreed to by this meeting, and carried into effect with the consent of the King. It was agreed to advertise presbyteries of the apparent danger, and to desire them to prepare the well-affected gentlemen within their bounds for resisting it; and with this view to endeavour to compose any feuds or quarrels which might subsist among them. An individual in each presbytery was nominated to

be about him, or haif ony publict charg in this countrey, qohilk gif he did, to protest that ye kirk was innocent of all the euill that was able to ensew y*upon." (Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, December 5. 1592.)

* Cald. iv. 269—271.

collect information from his brethren respecting the secret or open practices of the papists, and to transmit this with the utmost dispatch to a committee which was appointed to sit in Edinburgh during the present emergency, and which was charged to watch, *ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti caperet*. The information thus procured was immediately to be communicated to his Majesty and the privy council, who were requested to adopt such other measures as were necessary for detecting the conspiracy, and providing for the public safety *.

The wisdom of these precautions, and the justice of the suspicions which had dictated them, were soon made apparent to all. On the 27th of December, in consequence of secret intelligence which he had received, Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, accompanied by a number of students from the College of Glasgow, and neighbouring gentlemen, seized George Ker, a doctor of laws, and brother of Lord Newbattie, in the island of Cumray, as he was about to take ship for Spain. On searching him there were found in his possession letters from certain priests in Scotland, and blanks subscribed and sealed by the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, with a commission to William Crichton, a Jesuit, to fill up the blanks and address them to the persons for whom they were intended. Graham of Fintry, an associate of Ker, was soon after apprehended ; and being both examined before the privy council, they

* Melville's Diary, pp. 219—224. Cald. iv. 262—268.

testified that the signatures to the blanks were genuine, and discovered the nature and extent of the conspiracy. The king of Spain was to have landed thirty thousand men on the west coast of Scotland, part of whom were to invade England, and the remainder, in concert with the forces which the three earls promised to have in readiness, were to suppress the protestants, and procure the re-establishment, or at least the full toleration, of the Roman Catholic religion, in Scotland *.

James was absent from the capital when the conspiracy was discovered. Having arrived in consequence of the pressing intreaties of his privy council and the ministers of Edinburgh, he betrayed his characteristic weakness and obliquity of mind. Instead of sympathizing with the feelings of his people, which the recent discovery had wound up to a high pitch of alarm and indignation, and thanking them with frankness for the vigilance and zeal which they had shewn in his service, he renewed his petty and provoking complaints as to encroachments which they had made on his prerogative by their

* Melville's Diary, pp. 219—225. *A Discoverie of the unnatural and traiterous Conspiracy of Scotish Papists.* Edinburgh 1593. This book, which contains the intercepted letters and the confessions of Ker and Graham of Fintrie, was published under the direction of the ministers of Edinburgh. (Rec. of Presb. of Edis, May 15, 1593.) John Davidson, who wrote the Preface to it, recorded, in his Diary, that one of the intercepted letters was suppressed, because it "touched the King with knowledge and approbation of the trafficking, and promise of assistance." (Cald. in 3rd v.)

precipitate measures ; as if they were bound to sit still and suffer themselves to be spoiled of their lives, liberties, and religion, merely because he thought that these were in no danger, or because he chose to neglect his duty, and give himself up to idle and frivolous amusements. He found fault with the magistrates of Edinburgh for apprehending the Earl of Angus, who had entered the town without knowing that his treasonable correspondence was detected. A deputation from the barons and ministers of the church having been sent to congratulate him on his escape, and to offer him their advice and assistance in bringing the conspirators to justice, he, in a tedious and formal harangue, blamed them for assembling without waiting for his call ; pointed out the difference between the times of the queen regent, when the country was under a sovereign addicted to popery, and the present, when they had a protestant king ; and upbraided the ministers, in particular, by saying, that they were not wont to assemble with such alacrity, or in so great numbers, at his call. They replied, that they had the authority of the privy council for their meeting, and that it was not a fit time to stand upon forms, when they saw his person, the church, and commonwealth, brought into extreme jeopardy. Upon being made acquainted with the evidence, however, he professed himself convinced of the magnitude of the danger, promised to pursue the conspirators with all severity, and requested the barons and ministers who were assembled to favour his council with their best advice.

A proclamation was issued, declaring that Providence had mercifully discovered a dangerous conspiracy, contrived by the crafty practices of pernicious trafficking papists, seminary priests and Jesuits, who had seduced a number of his Majesty's subjects to apostatize from their religion, and to subject their native country to "the slavery and tyranny of that proud nation, which hath made such unlawful and cruel conquests in diverse parts of the world, as well upon Christians as Infidels;" and commanding all who loved God, wished well to their prince, and did not desire to see "their wives, children, and posterity made slaves in souls and bodies to merciless strangers," to abstain from all intercourse with popish priests under the pain of treason, and to "put themselves in arms by all good means they can, remaining in full readiness to pursue or defend, as they shall be certified by his Majesty, or otherwise find the occasion urgent *." To remove the suspicions of the nation, an act of council was made, prohibiting all from attempting to procure indemnity to the conspirators, and authorizing the king's chaplains to exact an oath from his domestics that they should not intercede in their behalf †.

Confiding in the faith of the court, all classes now vied in their demonstrations of loyalty and patriotism. The gentlemen voluntarily agreed to form themselves into a guard to defend the King's

* *Buik of Univ. Kirk*, f. 169.

† "Qik was done;" says the *Buik of the Universall Kirk*, f. 168, a.

person, and preserve the public peace. And a sacred bond, in defence of religion and the government, was everywhere subscribed with the utmost zeal and unanimity. But the hopes of the nation were soon disappointed. Graham of Fintry, the least guilty of the conspirators, was, indeed, executed; but the Earl of Angus and Ker were allowed to escape from prison. James having advanced to Aberdeen, attended by a large body of his faithful subjects, the conspirators concealed themselves, and sent their wives to intercede for them. When the parliament met, in July 1593, their offers of submission were favourably received, and their libel was cast under the pretext of informality *. They were suffered to repossess their castles, and enjoyed every degree of liberty except that of appearing in some of the principal towns of the kingdom. This injudicious lenity to persons who had repeatedly conspired against their native country, accompanied, as it was, with a flagrant breach of the royal faith, gave universal dissatisfaction, and excited strong suspicions in the breasts of not a few as to the soundness of his Majesty's attachment to the protestant religion †.

* The act of parliament makes no mention of informality; (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 15.) but a reference is made to it in the proceedings of the subsequent convention. (Ib. p. 44.) Spotswood says, their process was remitted to the King and privy council, (Hist. p. 397.) but the record is silent on this head.

† MS. Historie of Scotland from 1566 to 1594 under the year 1592. (This is a copy of the work, a part of which was published by Mr Laing, under the title of *Historie of King*

Alarmed at the tendency of this policy, the provincial synod of Fife, which met in September 1593, came to the resolution of excommunicating the four popish noblemen, Huntly, Angus, Errol, and Hume, with their two principal adherents, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindown, and Sir James Chisholm of Dundurn *. This sentence was communicated to the other synods, and being unanimously approved and universally intimated, contributed greatly to repress the boldness of the conspirators, who, confiding in the royal favour, had begun to behave themselves with extreme insolence. Melville was appointed by his synod to attend a meeting of the gentlemen and burgesses of the county at Cupar ; and measures were taken to have a general meeting held at Edinburgh on the 17th of October, consisting of commissioners from the different counties †.

James was highly dissatisfied with the excommunication of the popish lords, as tending to counteract his intentions of pardoning them, and he dealt importunately with Bruce to prevent the intimation of the sentence in Edinburgh. Unable to succeed with the ministers, he had recourse to the most popular of the barons, and endeavoured to gain them over to an approbation of his scheme. In dealing with some of them he urged the necessity

James the Sixth.) Melville's Diary, p. 225. Cald. iv. 291—293. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 168.

* The grounds upon which this synod considered it as competent for them to proceed to this censure, may be seen in the printed Calderwood, pp. 290—1.

† See Note D.

of the case, and with others the claims of humanity. With others, again, he availed himself of the specious plea of liberty of conscience ; a plea which, as applied, was a *felo de se*, and, had it been then acted upon, would inevitably have led to the overthrow of all true liberty. A curious conversation between him and Lord Hamilton on this subject has been preserved. James paid a visit to Hamilton House, for the purpose of sounding that nobleman's views. He introduced the conversation, by saying, that he was confident that he enjoyed the friendship of his lordship, notwithstanding any reports which had been circulated to the contrary. "Ye see, my lord, (continued he) how I am used, and have no man in whom I may trust more than in Huntly. If I receive him, the ministers will cry out that I am an apostate from the religion ; if not, I am left desolate." "If he and the rest be not enemies to the religion, (said his lordship) ye may receive them ; otherwise, not." "I cannot tell (replied his Majesty) what to make of that, but the ministers hold them for enemies. Always, I would think it good, that they enjoyed liberty of conscience." Upon this Lord Hamilton exclaimed, "Sir, then we are all gone ! then we are all gone ! then we are all gone ! If there were no more to withstand them than I, I will withstand." The King perceiving his servants approach, put an end to the conversation by saying with a smile, "My lord, I did this to try your mind *."

* Cald. iv. 338.

The dissimulation of James was so gross and so frequently repeated as to forfeit him the confidence of even the least suspicious. Before setting out on a journey to the borders, he renewed his promise to the ministers of Edinburgh not to shew favour to the conspirators. Yet, on the very day on which he gave this pledge, they were admitted to his presence at Fala, and made such arrangements with him respecting their trial as secured their acquittal. The convention held at Edinburgh a few days after this, appointed commissioners to go to Jedburgh, and lay their representations before his Majesty *. They were instructed to complain of his having admitted the popish lords into his presence, to request that the arrangements made respecting their trial, so far as they were calculated to defeat the ends of justice, should be altered, and to inform him what all his faithful subjects thought of the favour shewn by him to traitors, and that they were determined to sacrifice their lives sooner than allow the land to be over-run with idolatrous and bloody papists. James gave them a very different reception from that which he had lately vouchsafed to rebels. He challenged the meeting from which they were deputed as unlawful. He inveighed against the synod of Fife for excommunicating the popish lords. He expressed great displeasure at Melville for the active part which he had taken in that affair, and at dif-

* The commissioners were James Melville, Patrick Galloway, Napier of Merchiston, the Laird of Calderwood, and three burgesses.

ferent county meetings. He alleged that at one of these meetings, the persons assembled had entered into a protestation, in which they declared that they would not acknowledge him as their lawful king unless he adhered to the religion presently professed, and punished such as sought to overthrow it; and that they had endeavoured to bring their brethren in the southern part of the kingdom under the same treasonable engagement. And he concluded with threatening that he would call a meeting of parliament, to chastise the insolence of the ministers, and restore the estate of bishops. James Melville, in the name of the commissioners, replied to this royal philippic, and defended his constituents; after which his Majesty grew calm, returned a fair answer to their petition, and dismissed them with promises that were never to be performed *.

It is unnecessary to detail all the deceptions methods taken by the court in the course of this pre-

* Cald. iv. 338—342. Melville's Diary, p. 227—8. Spotswood, Hist. pp. 398, 9. MS. Historie, ut supra. Gordon's Geneal. History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 222—3. The last mentioned writer says that it was resolved by the court, in the year 1593, to re-establish episcopacy. Spotswood, in his account of the interview at Jedburgh, says, that the commissioners “humbly besought his Majesty to vouchsafe the Assembly some answer in writing, but he absolutely refused, and so they took their leave.” (Hist. p. 399.) On the contrary, James Melville, who was present, expressly says: “Sa y^t night delyvering our petitiones in wryt, be tymes on the morn we gat our answers in wrait fear aneuchie, and returned on the thridie day.” (Diary, 227.)

tended judicial process. The Convention of Estates held at Linlithgow in October 1593, after preparing matters, referred the trial of the conspirators to certain individuals named by them, along with the officers of state, whom they appointed to meet on the following month at Holyroodhouse. Melville attended on this occasion as one of the commissioners of the church *, and used his wonted freedom in uttering his sentiments. He reproved the King for the manner in which he allowed himself to speak of the chief instruments of the reformation, and the best friends of his own throne, and for the uniform partiality which he had shewn to the avowed enemies of both, and particularly to the house of Huntly. He challenged those who advised his Majesty to adopt this course to come forward and avow themselves before the Estates ; pledging himself to prove them traitors to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, provided they were made liable to punishment, or, if he failed in his proof, that he would himself go to the gibbet. The King and courtiers smiled, and said, that he was more zealous than wise. After his Majesty had made a speech, in which he urged the danger which might arise to the country from proceeding to extremities against the

* Six members, nominated by the Convention of Estates, were allowed to be present at the trial. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 44.) Gordon states that this nomination was opposed by the church as an encroachment upon her liberties ; upon which the King caused their names to be deleted, and ordered that in future the ministers should have no place on such occasions but as suppliants. (General Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 223.)

powerful individuals who were accused, the assembly agreed to “the act of abolition” which had been previously drawn up by the counsellors. By this the popish lords were ordained, according to the offer which they had made, either to give satisfaction to the church and embrace the protestant religion, or else to leave the kingdom within a limited time; the process against them was dropped; and they were declared “free and unaccusable in all time coming” of the crimes laid to their charge, provided they did not in future enter into any treasonable correspondence with foreigners*.

This mode of issuing the process was a gross imposition on the nation. No intelligent person believed that the popish earls were sincere in their offers, or would comply with the terms prescribed to them. The sole tendency of the measure was to allow them an interval of repose to strengthen their party, and to establish their influence at court, that they might renew their intrigues, and embroil the country on the first favourable opportunity that occurred. Various reasons may be assigned for James adopting this line of policy, without having recourse to the supposition that he was inclined to popery. Huntly, the head of the popish party, by means of his family alliance with Lennox, the King’s favourite, had an interest at court, which was greatly increased by the recent marriage of Mar †. James was now

* Act Parl. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 46—48. Cald. iv. 351—357.
Melville’s Diary, p. 229 Spotswood, 400—1.

† James was feasting at the marriage of the Earl of Mar with

looking eagerly forward to the English succession, and was desirous of gaining the Roman Catholics who formed a considerable party in that kingdom, and were filled with irreconcilable hatred against Elizabeth. His timidity made him averse to vigorous measures ; and he piqued himself on his superior skill in that branch of the art of government which lies in balancing the different parties in the state so as to render them all dependent on the sovereign ; although he was destitute of the talents requisite for this delicate task, and could neither poize the scales with judgment, nor hold them with a steady and impartial hand. The political principles of the papists were agreeable to James ; and the chiefs of the party paid assiduous court to him by flattering his love of power, and inveighing against the levelling doctrines and republican spirit of the reforming ministers. But from whatever causes it proceeded, it is clear that he had adopted a policy which led him to protect and favour a foreign faction, addicted to popery and arbitrary power ; while the best friends of the reformation, who were at the same time the natural and surest friends of a protestant government, became the objects of his jealousy and aversion. This absurd and criminal course he pursued throughout his reign, in spite of all the admonitions which he received ; and it was persisted in, with hereditary fatuity, by his successors, who carried on a secret and illicit intercourse with the Church of

a sister of the Countess of Huntly, when he received information of the discovery of the late conspiracy. (Spotswood, p. 391.)

Rome, which issued at length in their laying their triple crown ingloriously and irrecoverably at her feet. An example to all British sovereigns who may be tempted to form such an unnatural and unhallowed attachment !

While the country was agitated by this affair, the court was kept in a state of continued and disgraceful alarm by the attempts of the Earl of Bothwell, who repeatedly besieged the palace, and on one occasion, forced his way into the royal presence, and extorted a pardon for his rebellious practices. Infamed with personal resentment against the Chancellor, he had formerly associated with the popish lords ; and availing himself of the odium which the court had incurred by favouring them, he now affected great concern for the preservation of the protestant religion. He was unable, however, to make a dupe of more than one of the ministers of the church. The vices of his private character, and his known selfishness, versatility, and turbulence, were sufficient to put them on their guard against his loud but hollow professions; even although they had been disposed to abet any hostile attempt against the government*. But this did not prevent them from being aspersed as favourable to him. With the view of gaining partizans among the people, Bothwell circulated reports of this kind, and those who were about the King were either so jealous as to credit the slander,

* Cald. iv 241—246, 271, 305.

or so politic as to employ it by way of retort to the charge brought against them of countenancing the popish conspirators. In a conference with the magistrates and ministers of Edinburgh, the King complained that Bothwell had been suffered to remain in the capital, and upbraided the ministers for maintaining silence respecting his treasonable conduct, while they were loud in their invectives against captain Stewart and the popish earls. He charged Bruce in special with having conspired, along with some of his brethren, to place the crown on Bothwell's head, and with having harboured a traitor who sought the life of his sovereign. The rest of the ministers contented themselves with appealing to their hearers as to their innocence of what was laid to their charge ; but as the accusation against Bruce was specific and more serious, he insisted that he was entitled to know the individuals who had slandered him to his Majesty, and declared that he would not again enter the palpit until he was legally cleared of the crime imputed to him. James, after some shifting, named the Master of Gray and one Tyrie, a papist, as his informers. But on the day fixed for examining the affair, no person appeared to make good the charge ; and Gray, having left the court, refused that he had given the alleged information against Bruce, and offered to fight any individual, his Majesty excepted, who should affirm that he had defamed that minister *.

* Cald. iv. 269—272.

The activity of the Melvilles in thwarting the wishes of the court respecting the popish lords subjected them to the same odious imputation. It had been the laudable custom of the church of Scotland to make contributions in their different parishes for the relief of their brethren in foreign countries who were persecuted for religion. The city of Geneva had since the year 1589 been involved in a dangerous war with the Duke of Savoy, which reduced it to the necessity of applying for foreign aid *. Liberal collections were accordingly made for this purpose throughout Scotland. James Melville was collector for the province of Fife, and it was surmised at court, that he had, with the concurrence of his uncle and some other ministers, given the money, intended for Geneva, to Bothwell, to enable him to raise troops to harrass the King. Setting aside the acknowledged probity of the individuals accused, the supposition of their having committed such an act of sacrilegious fraud involves the highest improbabilities. Who can believe that Melville, who felt so enthusiastically attached to Geneva, who regarded that city as one of the great bulwarks of the Reformation, who, at the solicitation of his most revered friends in it, had exerted himself to obtain collections for its relief, would have given his consent to rob it of those very succours which were so urgently required to preserve its independence, nay, its very existence as a free and protestant state? Who can believe that

* Spon, *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. i. pp. 334—393. edit. 1730,

he, or his nephew, who was as his own soul, would have done this in behalf of a nobleman of irregular habits and of no principles, with whom, although he courted the friendship of both, their keenest adversaries could not prove that either of them ever had the slightest political connection, even for a single day*? But James Melville, whose character was immediately attacked, had direct evidence to produce in defence of his honour, and of the strict fidelity with which he had acted in this business. He had in his possession the receipts granted by those for whom the sums with which he had been intrusted were contributed †; and during his life-time no in-

* "About the spring tyme in the yeir following 1594 the outlaw Boduell kythe openlie w^t forces at Leithe and at Preistfield bot w^t lyk success as oftentimes befor, he tak vpe men of war in secret vpe and down the countrey and gaiff out that it was at the kirks employmet against the papists, whilk maid me being then mickle occupied in publict about the kirks escares to be greatly suspected be the king and bak speirit be all meanes, bot it was hard to find quibilk was never thought. for I never lyket the man nor haid to do w^t him directlie or indirectlie. yea ester guid Archbald Erle of Angus whom God called to his rest a yeir or twa befor this, I kend him not of the nobilitie in Scotland y^t I could communicate my mynd w^t anēt publict affears, let be to haiff a delting w^t in action." (Melville's Diary, p. 230.)

† After mentioning the liberality with which the people under his charge contributed for the relief of their brethren in France, he says: "The soum of the haill collection quilk the frenche kirks gat (from Scotland) extendit bot till about x thowsand merks, as their acquittances and Letters of thanksgiving beares, quibilk I haiff in custodie delyverit to me be the generall assemblie to translet in Scottes and sett furthe to close the mouthes of invyfull slanderers wha gaiff out y^t ye collection was maid for an vther purpose; as also the Collection maid for Geneva, whar

dividual durst convert the calumnious surmises circulated to his prejudice into a direct and manly charge. In the General Assembly held in May 1594, some members objected to his nomination as one of the commissioners to be sent to the King, on the ground that he had incurred the suspicions of the court as a favourer of Bothwell. His conduct on that occasion was such as became a man who was conscious of innocence, and who felt what was due to his reputation. He told the assembly, that so far from having courted appointments of that kind, he had often, as they knew, intreated to be excused from them; but, at present, he thought it incumbent upon him to insist that his name should be put on the list, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himself from the slander; and if they declined doing this, he was determined to present himself at court, and demand an investigation of his conduct. He was accordingly included in the commission *. After the commissioners had transacted their business with the King, James Melville introduced his own affair, and requested to be informed if his Majesty had any thing to lay to his charge, or if he harboured suspicions of his fidelity. The King replied, that he had nothing to say against him more than against the rest, except that he found his name on every commission. James Melville

for we gat mair thankes by a letter of Theodore du Bez in the name of the Senat and kirk y'of nor it was all worthe, readie to be producit." (Melville's Diary, p. 194.)

* Bukt of the Univ. Kirk, f. 171, a.

thanked God that this was the case ; for in all his public employments he had studied the good of the King as well as that of the church ; and if there were any that traduced him to his Majesty as having engaged in secret, unlawful, or undutiful practices, he desired that they would now come forward and shew their faces, when he was present to answer for himself. No reply was made to this challenge. After this the King took him into his cabinet, and, having dismissed his attendants, conversed with him on a variety of topics with the greatest familiarity, sent his special commendations to his uncle, the principal, and declared that he looked upon both of them as most faithful and trusty subjects. " So, (says James Melville) of the strange working of God, I that came to Stirling the traitor, returned to Edinburgh a great courtier, yea a cabinet counsellor *." --- Spotswood had good opportunities of becoming acquainted with this honourable exculpation, and yet, after the death of the individual whom he was bound to revere, he embodied, in his History, this slander on his master's memory, not as a report, but as if it had been a well-authenticated fact †. And it has been retailed from his time down to the present, as scandal is usually propagated, by the prejudiced, the gossiping, and those who are equally destitute of patience to examine the grounds of a report, and of sagacity to perceive the most palpable marks of its improbability.

* Diary, p. 231—2. Cald. iv. 371, 389, 390.

† Spotswood, Hist. p. 430. See above, vol. i. p. 189.

The General Assembly, which was held in May 1594, testified its sense of the important public services which Melville had lately performed, by placing him again in the moderator's chair. Lord Hume presented himself at the bar of this Assembly, and made such professions of sorrow for his past conduct as induced the members to agree to his being absolved from the sentence of excommunication which the synod of Fife had passed against him. Melville, from suspicions of the sincerity of these professions, and from the consideration that the other popish noblemen were still in arms, hesitated to absolve Hume; and the Assembly, after hearing his reasons, excused him, and appointed David Lindsay to supply his place in the act of pronouncing the absolution *. This is not the only instance in which we find the ecclesiastical courts at this period paying such deference to the private convictions of their members, and even of those whose province it was to carry their sentences into execution †. Nor does it appear that the practice led to any decidedly bad consequences. Even in the ordinary management of affairs in the best regulated churches, instances will occur in which conscientious individuals may entertain serious

* Melville's Diary, p. 290.

† In 1586, Robert Wilkie, the moderator of the provincial synod of Fife, having declined pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against archbishop Adamson, the synod appointed one of the members to act for him in that instance. (Printed Calderwood, pp. 201, 203.)

scruples as to the lawfulness of particular decisions; and may decline to take an active part in executing them, without being guilty of a contempt of established authority, or maintaining a factious opposition to the measures which they condemn. By giving place to such scruples, at the expence of deviating a little from the strict line of ordinary procedure, a court neither testifies its weakness nor compromises its authority: it merely evinces that moderation which becomes a tribunal confessedly subordinate and fallible, and does homage to the sacred rights of conscience and private judgment. Obstinacy and pride will screen themselves under this plea; but it is better that these evils should be overseen and tolerated, than that the spirit of genuine independence should be crushed, that there should be no alternative left between absolute submission and endless separation, and that a despotical administration should be grafted on an authority which is immediately conversant about the affairs of the mind and conscience.

The assembly unanimously ratified the sentence which the synod of Fife had pronounced against the other popish lords. These noblemen had refused to take the benefit of the act of abolition, continued in arms, and persevered in their treasonable correspondence with Spain. To a faithful and spirited exposition of the state of the country which the assembly laid before him, the King returned a very favourable answer. He acknowledged the dangers which they had pointed out, and declared his re-

solution to adopt the most prompt and decisive measures against the common enemies of the religion and peace of the kingdom. All his desires were most cordially granted by this assembly. They renewed an act of a former assembly, enjoining ministers, under the pain of deposition, not to utter from the pulpit any rash or irreverent speeches against the King and his council *. They censured a preacher of the name of Ross, who had been guilty of this offence. They pronounced the sentence of deposition against the minister of Carnbee, who had taken part with Bothwell †. And they enjoined all ministers to warn the people under their charge not to concur with that turbulent nobleman, or others who might engage in treasonable practices against his Majesty, and not to receive military pay, without the royal warrant, from any individual under the pretext of defending the cause of religion ‡.

Indeed, there is not the slightest ground for call-

* Some judicious and pertinent remarks on this act, and on the subject to which it relates, the freedom used by the ministers in their sermons, may be seen in Dr Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. 18—20.

† The language employed by James in requesting this may be referred to as an exculpation of the ministers from the charge often brought against them: “3. that they will excommunicat Mr Andro bunter for bringing in ane scandall upon y^r professionn, as the first opin traitour of y^r functioun agaistis ane christian king of y^r religion and y^r naturall soveraigne.” (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 174, a.) James Melville says that the presbytery of St Andrews had deposed Hunter. (Diary, p. 231.)

‡ Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 167—174. Melville's Diary, pp. 230—232. Spotswood, 406.

ing in question the loyalty of the ministers of the church, or their decided and steady attachment to the person and government of James. Had he ceased from favouring a faction equally hostile to his crown and the established religion ; had he exerted a reasonable superintendence over the administration of the state, and abstained from encroachments on the jurisdiction of the church ; and above all, had he maintained his word and promises inviolate, he would have found the ministers disposed to give him all due satisfaction, and might have derived from them the most essential and efficient support. The submission which the nobility yielded to him was always partial and precarious. In the dispute which arose between him and the queen, as to the disposal of the person of the young prince, he was deserted by some of his principal courtiers. His favourites engaged in cabals against him, and Lennox, for whom he had done so much, repeatedly connived at the audacious attempts of Bothwell. The preachers were inclined to favour no faction in the state. The selfishness and avarice of the barons had weaned them from any dependance which they might once have been disposed to place on that order ; and there was not at that time a single nobleman to whom they looked up as a protector, or who possessed any considerable share of their confidence. Had their jealousies not been awakened and kept alive by the misconduct of the King, the leading men among them possessed too much sense, and were too well aware that the safety of the church, in-

cluding their own, depended on the stability of his government, to indulge in or countenance any freedoms from the pulpit that tended to embarrass his administration, or to bring his person into contempt*. The joint influence of their doctrine and discipline presented to James a powerful instrument, not possessed by any of his predecessors, for suppressing the feuds of the nobility, purifying the administration of justice, and civilizing and reforming the morals of the people. Had he known how to avail himself of this, his reign in Scotland might have been tranquil and happy.

Although the popish noblemen were now in a state of open rebellion, they found advocates in the parliament which was held in the month of June. Melville was present, and appeared for the church before the Lords of Articles. He urged the adopting of strong measures against the delinquents as necessary to the safety of religion and the peace of the kingdom. "Sir, (said he, addressing the King) many think it a matter of great weight to overthrow

* Bruce, at the time he was using the greatest freedom in rebuking the court, said : " It is our parts to crave it (wisdom to the King) : becaus for as loues as he is, he is the greatest blessing that ever we shall see." And in another sermon : " Surely the only band temporall that holds up the commonweill here, quhilk is ruinouse on all sides, and is like to fall down, stands upon that prince. Suppose he be many wayes abused, out of question an he war removed—I look to see confusion multiplied on confusion." (MS. Notes of Sermons by Robert Bruce : Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 14, 15.)

the estate of three so great men. I grant it is so : but yet it is a greater matter to overthrow, and expel out of this country, three far greater ; to wit, true religion, the quietness of the commonwealth, and the prosperous estate of the king. If ye can get us a better commonwealth than our own, (continued he, directing his speech to the lords) and a better king, we are content the traitorous lords be spared ; otherwise, we desire you to do your duty." He objected that some who had come there to reason were excluded by law, and particularly the Prior of Pluscardie. One of the lords said, that the Prior was a man of honourable place, being president of the court of session. " More honourable men than he are debarred from a place among the Lords of Articles," replied Melville. The King acknowledged that this was true, and promised to attend to the matter. Melville went on to say that there were some on the Articles who were strongly suspected of partiality in this cause, and of being almost as guilty as those who were on their trial. The abbots of Kinloss and Inchaffray smiled to each other. " Whom do you mean ?" said the King. " One who laughs across the table, replied Melville." " Do you mean me ?" said Kinloss. " If you confess yourself guilty, I will not purge you ; but I meant Inchaffray." " Mr Edward, (said his Majesty to Kinloss) that is Judas's question, *Is it I, Master?*" a remark which produced much laughter. The majority of the Lords of Articles voted for the for-

feiture of the three earls, and their judgment was ratified by parliament *.

After the defeat of the Earl of Argyle by the popish lords at Glenlivet, the King set out for the north, at the head of some troops, to oppose the rebels. At his express request, he was accompanied by Melville, his nephew, and two other ministers. Had it not been for their presence, the expedition must have ended disgracefully. The popish chiefs retired into their fastnesses, and the royal forces were ready to disband for want of pay. So great was the distrust of his Majesty's professions, that the nation testified no disposition to raise the supplies necessary to insure the success of an expedition of which they highly approved. In this emergency, James Melville was despatched to the south, with recommedatory letters from his brethren, to procure contributions in the principal towns. He had scarcely left the camp, when measures were proposed which would have disgraced his mission, and contradicted the assurances which he was authorized to give in the name of the King. But, after the greater part of the privy counsellors had given their opinion that it was not fit to proceed to extremities against the insurgents, Melville reasoned so forcibly against the proposal, and his arguments made such an impression upon the minds of the officers of the army who were present, that his Majesty deemed it prudent

* Cald. iv. 392—3. See “The form and probation of the summons of treason,” pp. 393—398. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 56—61.

to dissent from the majority of his council, and to issue immediate orders for throwing down Strathbogie, a castle belonging to the Earl of Huntly, with the principal seats of his confederates. This decisive measure produced the expected effect upon the popish earls, who soon after quitted the kingdom *.

In the midst of the confusions caused by the rebellion of the popish lords, great joy was diffused through the nation by the birth of an heir to the crown. Melville celebrated that event in an elegant little poem, in which he predicted that the infant prince would unite the crowns of Britain, and humble the pride of Spain and Rome †.

Fastu donec Iberico
 Latè subacto, sub pedibus premas
 Clarus triumpho delibuti
 Geryonis triplicem tiaram.
 Qua nunc revinctus tempora Cerberus
 Romanus atra conduplicat face
 De rupe Tarpeja fragores
 Tartareos tonitru tremendo.
 Quo terram inertem, quo mare barbarum,
 Orcumque, & oras territat igneas
 Septem, potitus verna sceptris,
 Et solio, gemini dracsonis.

* Record of Privy Council, Oct. 19, and 28, 1594. Melville's Diary, pp. 292—296. Cald. iv. 402, 407—418.

† This poem was published under the following title: "Principis Scotti-Britannorum Natalia. Edinburgi Excudebat Robertus Walde-graue, Serenissimæ Regie Majestatis Typographus. Anno 1594." 4to. four leaves. A poem entitled "Amuletum," is subjoined to it. Both are re-published in Delit. Poet. Scot. ii. 93, 98.

The poet, however, lived to see his prediction contradicted, and to sing in other strains the premature death of a prince whose uncommon virtues and talents had excited universal expectation. David Cunningham, bishop of Aberdeen, was employed to celebrate the baptism of Prince Henry; a circumstance which, when compared with what took place at the coronation of the Queen, may be viewed as indicating that the court had altered its intentions as to the government of the church, and already meditated the gradual restoration of the episcopal order *.

In the course of the year 1595, Melville was involved in trouble through his friendship for David Black. Black had commenced a process against Balfour of Burley, who retained possession of

* The Account of the Baptism of Henry Prince of Scotland has been frequently printed. I do not know that the concluding orations of the Bishop were ever published, but they are preserved in MS. in the British Museum: "Frederici Henrici Principis Scotorum Sacra Lustralia, actore atque auctore Dauide Cuninghamo, Episcopo Aberdonensi, celebrata Niveoduni Sterlingorum Septembria 1594." (Harl. MSS. 4043, 4.) They consist of a "Votum" in verse, and "Eucharisteria," addressed to the ambassadors, in prose. The former contains the following encomium on the royal parents:

Sin te exempla sequi juvat aut vestigia regum,
Nequicquam antiquata petas, quæ occlusa vetustas
Occulit, ast unum patrem mireris, et unum
Patrem qui reges tantum super altior omnes,
Astræos quantum Phœbus super emicat ignes.
Nec parum matre est, tantaque viragine nasci
Filia quæ regis conjunxque sororque parensque,
Sed superans meritis sortem sexumque genusque.

a house in the Abbey which had been assigned as a manse to the minister of St Andrews *. Fearing that he would lose his cause, Burley stirred up the court against his prosecutor, whom he accused of reviling the late queen in his sermons. Melville was accused of abetting him in his seditious harangues, and both were summoned before the King at Falkland. At their arrival, Black was brought before an assembly consisting of members of the privy council, and certain ministers who had been called together from the neighbouring parishes. He expressed his readiness to give an account of his doctrine for the satisfaction of his Majesty and the individuals present, but objected to being put on his trial before an assembly which was neither civil nor ecclesiastical. His objections were, however, summarily over-ruled, and the examination of witnesses was already begun, when Melville, suspecting the irregular proceedings which were going on, knocked at the door and procured admission. Having obtained permission to speak on a mode of procedure which tended to prejudge the rights of the church and his own cause, he told his Majesty, what he had often rung in his ears, that though he was the King of Scotland, he was not the King of the church in Scotland ; and that there was no court assembled there which had a right to try the cause which they had brought before them. " But, (continued he) if king James the Sixth has any judicature

* *Buik of Univ. Kirk*, f. 176, b.

or cause here, it should be to judge, not the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, the King of the church, but (turning to Burley) *this* traitor, who has committed diverse points of high treason against his Majesty's civil laws, by taking his peaceable subjects in the night out of their houses, and resetting in his own house the King's rebels and forfeited enemies." Burley fell on his knees before his Majesty, and craved justice. "Justice! (exclaimed Melville) would to God you had it! You would not then be here to bring a judgment from Christ upon the King, and thus falsely and unjustly to vex and accuse the faithful servants of God." James attempted to silence him by assuming an air and tone of authority, but the feelings of Melville were wrought up too high to suffer him to pay regard to frowns or threats; and his Majesty was fain to allay the heat by addressing the parties in a jocular strain, and telling them, "that they were both little men, and their heart was at their mouth." By this affray the trial was as abruptly broken off as it had been irregularly begun. The affair was brought to a happy termination by the wisdom of James Melville, who had been sent for by his uncle to be present on the occasion. He acquainted the Earl of Mar with the real circumstances of the case; set before him the injurious consequences which would arise from a breach between the church and the king, at a time when the court was divided, and the country far from being in a settled state; and persuaded him to mitigate his Majesty's resentment, and bring about

an accommodation on reasonable terms. The consequence was, that Black, being admitted to a private interview, satisfied the King that he had spoken with great respect of his mother, and touched very gently on the errors of her administration ; professed that he had no design of insinuating that the extraordinary measures taken by the nation during her reign should be adopted in the present ; and, as his Majesty was afraid that the seditions would put such a construction on his words, promised to abstain from such forms of speech for the future. Melville too was admitted to an audience, and after free but amicable reasoning with James, was also graciously dismissed.

All parties professed to be satisfied with the conduct of James Melville in this affair, but he observed that from this time his credit with the King declined. His object in cultivating the interest which he had at court was to persuade his Majesty that the ministers loved him, and were disposed to please him as far as was consistent with their sense of duty ; that so the affairs of church and state might be conducted harmoniously, or with as little jarring as possible between the two jurisdictions. His Majesty, on the other hand, was anxious to gain him over to an approbation of the court-measures ; but finding, after an experiment of two years, that he could not detach him from his brethren, he withdrew from him the marks of his regard and confidence. Of those who are to be found in kings' courts few are like-minded with James Melville. He annually expended the half of his stipend on the

public service: and as for gifts from the crown, “ I sought none, (says he) and I got none unsought *.”

In the end of this year, Melville, along with his nephew and Bruce, visited Lord Thirlstane, the Chancellor, in his castle beside Lauder. His lordship was then on his death-bed, and the conversation which he held with them was highly satisfactory to his visitors. The loss of this able statesman was quickly felt by the nation, and must be viewed as a principal means of bringing on the evils with which the church was soon after assailed †.

The year 1596 is memorable in the history of the Church of Scotland. “ It had (says James Melville) a strange variety and mixture; the beginning thereof with a shew of profit in planting the churches with perpetual local stipends; the midst of it very comfortable for the exercise of reformation and renewing of the covenant; but the end of it tragical in wasting the Zion of our Jerusalem, the church of Edinburgh, and threatening no less to many of the rest.” The first of these measures was defeated by the same cause which had opposed its adoption in every shape since the Reformation ‡. The second measure commenced un-

* Melville’s Diary, pp. 237—242.

† Ibid. p. 242. Simsoni Annales, p. 73. Spotswood, p. 411. Melville testified his respect for the memory of the Chancellor, in an epitaph. Delitiae Poet. Scot. ii. 116.

‡ The plan of providing fixed stipends here referred to was drawn up by Secretary Lindsay, and has been preserved at length by James Melville. (Diary, pp. 244—254.) Those who wish to be acquainted with its provisions may consult the printed Cal-

der more favourable auspices, and, though interrupted by the confusions which ensued, was productive of good and lasting effects. It originated with that pious and honest minister of the gospel, John Davidson*. His mind had for a considerable time been deeply affected with various corruptions in the church. He lamented the inefficacy of the means which had hitherto been used to correct them. He was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue, if the constancy of ministers and people, in adhering to their religious profession, should be subjected to any severe trial. And he was anxious that a great and general effort should be made to bring about such a reformation as all good men wished to see accomplished. Accordingly, he laid a proposal to this purpose before the presbytery of Haddington, who transmitted it, in the form of an overture, to the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in the month of March. The overture was unanimously approved of by the Assembly; and a writing was immediately drawn up containing an enumeration of the evils to be reformed, under the four following heads: corruptions in the persons and lives of ministers of the gospel; offences in his Majesty's house; the common corruptions of all estates;

derwood, (pp. 325—328.) or the more abridged account of it given by Dr Cook. (Hist. of the Church of Scotland, ii. 55—59.) The *constant plat*, as it was called, became a convenient engine in the hands of the court, who set it in motion whenever they wished the concurrence of the ministers in any of their measures.

* He was admitted minister of Prestonpans on the 7th of January 1594. (Rec. of the Presb. of Haddington.)

and offences in the courts of justice. Great moderation was used in specifying the offences of the royal household, and of the civil courts. The ministers did not spare their own order, and that part of the statement which related to them was larger than all the rest taken together*. On the motion of Melville, the means to be employed for reforming ministers, and the censures to be inflicted on them for particular acts of delinquency, were condescended on. As a primary step to reformation, and according to an approved practice in the best times of the church, the members of assembly agreed to meet by themselves for the purpose of solemnly confessing their sins, and "making promise before the majesty of God" to amend their conduct. This meeting was accordingly held in the Little Church, on Tuesday the 30th of March. John Davidson, who was chosen to preside on the occasion, preached so much to the conviction of his hearers, and, in their name, made confession of their sins to Heaven with such sincere and fervent feeling, that the whole assembly melted into tears before him; and rising from their seats at his desire, and lifting up their right hands, they renewed their covenant with God, "protesting to walk more warily in their ways, and to be more diligent in their charges." The scene, which continued dur-

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 178, 179. This record contains the offences of the ministers only; but the entire paper may be seen in the printed Calderwood, pp. 314—320. The following is the only specification of personal vice in the King: "His Maj. is blotted with banning and swearing, which is common to Courtiers also."

ing three hours, was solemn and deeply affecting beyond any thing that the oldest person present had witnessed *.

As the greater part of the ministers were not present to join in this sacred action, the General Assembly ordained that it should be repeated in the several provincial synods and presbyteries, and that it should afterwards be extended to congregations. This ordinance was obeyed with an alacrity and ardour which spread from presbytery to presbytery, and from parish to parish ; “ the inhabitants of one city saying to another—Come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten,” until all Scotland, like Judah of old, “ rejoiced at the oath †. Nowhere was the service performed with more affecting solemnity than at Dunfermline by the members of the synod of

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 178, 179. Melville’s Diary, p. 261. Cald. v. 47—49.

† Ibid. Row, Historie, p. 61. The covenant was renewed by the Synod of Fife on the 13th of May (Melville’s Diary, p. 262.); by the presbytery of St Andrews “ upon the penult surisday of the monethe of July” (ib. 268); by the congregation of Kilrinny on the 5th of September (ib. p. 271.); and by the congregation of Anstruther soon after: “ We tho^t meet to enter in tryell of ofselves for the better p^rpara^s to the covenant and Lordes supper.” (Rec. of Kirk Session of Anstruther, Sept. 5. 1596.) James Melville laments that the ministers of Edinburgh omitted this exercise. (Diary, p. 274.) If they did so, the presbytery cannot be blamed for the omission: “ It is concluditt, according to the act of the Generall Assemblie, a covenant salbe renewitt in all the boundis of this presbtrie, and that upon the vii of October next.” (Rec. of Presbytery of Edinburgh, Sept. 21. 1596.)

Fife. After they had plighted their faith to God and to one another, James Melville, who had the direction of the exercise, called up some of the most judicious members to address the assembly. David Ferguson, the oldest minister of the church, rose and gave an account of the first planting of the reformed church in Scotland. He was one of six individuals, (he said) who engaged in that work, when the name of stipend was unknown, when they had to encounter the united opposition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and could scarcely reckon on the countenance and support of any person of note and worldly estimation: yet they firmly and fearlessly persevered, and providence crowned their labours with success. Davidson, who was present by appointment of the General Assembly, said that the opposite emotions by which the Jewish convocation was agitated at the founding of the second temple, were at that moment blended in his soul: he rejoiced at what he saw that day, and his heart was at the same time filled with sadness when he reflected how far he and his brethren had degenerated from what he had witnessed, when a young man, of the godliness, zeal, gravity, love, courage, and painfulness, which shone in the first reformers. Melville, at the moderator's desire, delivered the concluding address. He warned his brethren against defection and breach of covenant, putting them in mind of the humbling example of human frailty which had been given in the year 1584, when the greater part of the ministers were

induced, by the mere dread of losing their stipends, to subscribe the acts which subverted and overthrew the liberties and discipline of the church. “ What should be looked for, then, (said he) if the Spaniards who have lately taken Calais, from which in a few hours they might easily transport themselves to this island, yea into our own frith, should essay our constancy with the fine and exquisite torments of their inquisition ; upon which piece of service our excommunicated and forfeited earls are attending * ? ”

The satisfaction felt in this exercise was like sunshine before a storm ; and the principal persons engaged in it were soon after involved in a severe conflict, attended with a train of consequences distressing to them and disastrous to the church. The immediate cause of this was the return of the forfeited lords to Scotland. The ministers were informed, by letters from their friends abroad, of the active exertions which the Scottish priests were making on the continent against their native country †. The king of Spain still threatened the invasion of Britain. Elizabeth had put her kingdom in a posture of defence to meet the meditated attack ‡. James was fully apprized by intercepted letters of the treasonable correspondence which the popish lords continued to hold with Spain, and of the plan which they had

* Melville’s Diary, pp. 261—267.

† Letter from Augsburgh, April 27. 1596, by Mr D. Anderson ; in the Appendix.

‡ Cald. iv. 443.

suggested for getting possession of the principal ports in Scotland *. He had made this information public by repeated proclamations; had given orders for military musters and reviews in the several counties; and had urged the ministers to exhort their people to take arms, and requested them to assist him in raising supplies, to repel the intended invasion †. The tidings that the popish lords had secretly returned to the country produced a general sensation of alarm. James protested that they had come without his consent or knowledge; but this, instead of relieving men's minds, placed them in the most distressing dilemma. If they disbelieved his Majesty's asseveration, what confidence could they have in any thing that he said or did? If they gave credit to it, what could they think but that the noblemen, in coming home, must have relied on assistance, domestic or foreign, to enable them to set at defiance the royal authority? The state of matters was now much altered from what it had been in 1592, when the prime minister was decidedly

* Printed Calderwood, pp. 353, 372.

† "Being surlie informit that the foraine preparatioun threatnait of lang tyme for prosecutioun of that detestable conspiracie aganis christ and his evangill ar presentlie in readines and intendis to arryve in this Iland—Quairfoir his Maiestie with advise of the lordis of his secreit counsall ordains and commandis as alsua effectuoudie requiris all ministers of Godis wordis and presbiteries w'in this realm Eirnestlie to travaill w't all his hienes subjectis of all estatis—to converse in armes with his Maiestie his lieutenantis or commissionaris," &c. (Record of Privy Council, Nov. 4. 1595.) Proclamations for arming and weaponshawing, in which language equally strong, and even more alarming,

favourable to the interests of religion and the church. Since the death of the Chancellor, the administration of affairs had been intrusted to eight individuals, commonly called *Octavians*; the greater part of whom, including the Lord President and the King's Advocate, were either known or suspected papists. There was reason to fear, that, through their interest, the forfeited noblemen would not only obtain a pardon but also be admitted to his Majesty's counsels. In that case, the days of Lepnox and Arran would return; and the religion and lives of the protestants would be exposed to the most imminent hazard. Such were the apprehensions entertained by the nation. Their fears might be too highly raised; but none who attends to all the circumstances will pronounce them groundless, or wonder that the preachers should have exerted their utmost influence to avert the dangers with which they saw themselves and the country threatened.

In the month of August a meeting of the privy councillors, assisted by others of the nobility, was held at Falkland, to consider the offers made by Huntly *. Certain ministers whom the court judged more moderate than the rest were desired to be present at this meeting, to give their advice. Though not invited, Melville judged it his duty to attend as one of the commissioners of the General Assembly. The King, on hearing of his arrival, sent a messenger, who, according to the Council Minutes of 2nd of December, the 5th of February, and the 11th of March,

* Errol did not return till September.

ger to know his errand, and to charge him to depart ; but he excused himself, by pleading the commission which he had received. When he made his appearance along with his brethren, the King asked him, what call he had to be there. " Sir, (replied he) I have a call from Christ and his church, who have a special interest in this convention ; and I charge you and your estates in their name, that you favour not their enemies, nor go about to make citizens of those who have traitorously sought to betray their country to the cruel Spaniard, to the overthrow of Christ's kingdom." He was interrupted by his Majesty, and ordered to remove ; upon which he retired, thanking God that he had enjoyed an opportunity of exonerating his conscience. Encouraged by his boldness, the other ministers resisted the proposal of the court ; but, in the end, as James Melville acknowledges, they were induced to relax. The president made a plausible speech, in which he urged the policy of calling home the exiled noblemen, lest, like Coriolanus and Themistocles, they should join the enemies of their country. And the council agreed, that although the propositions made by Huntly were too general, yet he might be restored upon his acceding to such conditions as the King and privy council should draw up *. This agreement having given general offence, his Majesty took an early opportunity of declaring that he did not

* Record of Privy Council, August 12. 1596. Melville's Diary, p. 275.

mean to carry it into effect. The presbytery of Edinburgh voted him an address of thanks for this declaration, and the individuals who presented it received from his own mouth the strongest assurances that he would adhere to the determination which he had adopted *. Understanding that a convention of estates was to be held at Dunfermline to re-consider the matter, the presbytery sent two of their members to request that the royal promise made to them should be kept ; but their petition was disregarded, and the resolution taken at Falkland was approved of and ratified †.

In consequence of this the commissioners of the General Assembly, with other public spirited individuals, met at Cupar in Fife, and being assured by the ministers of the King's house that his Majesty was not privy to the return of the popish lords, appointed a deputation to go to Falkland, and exhort him to prevent the evil consequences which would ensue from the measures which his council were pursuing. The deputies were admitted to a private audience of the King. They had agreed that James Melville should be their spokesman, on account of the courteousness of his address, and the superior degree of respect which his Majesty uniformly expressed for him. But he had scarcely begun to speak, when the King interrupted him, and in a tone of irritation condemned

* Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, ultimo Aug^t 1596.

† Ibid. 28 Sept. 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 101.

the meeting held at Cupar as unwarranted and seditious, and accused them of infusing unreasonable and unfounded fears into the minds of the people. James Melville was preparing to reply in his mild manner, when his uncle, unable to restrain himself, or judging that the occasion called for a different mode of address, stepped forward and addressed the king. His Majesty testified the strongest reluctance to listen to his discourse, and summoned up all his authority to silence him ; but Melville persevered, and taking the King by the sleeve in his fervour, and calling him *God's silly vassal*, he proceeded to address him in the following strain, perhaps the most singular, in point of freedom, that ever saluted royal ears, or that ever proceeded from the mouth of a loyal subject, who would have spilt his blood in defence of the person and honour of his prince. “ Sir, we will always humbly reverence your Majesty in public ; but since we have this occasion to be with your Majesty in private, and since ye are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and along with you the country and the church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty, or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as diverse times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, There are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland : there is Christ Jesus the King of the church, whose subject king James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king nor a lord nor a head, but a member. Those

whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his church, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient power and authority from him to do this both jointly and severally ; the which no Christian king or prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist ; otherwise they are not faithful subjects of Christ and members of his church. We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience ; but again I say, you are not the head of the church : you cannot give us that eternal life which even in this world we seek for, and you cannot deprive us of it. Permit us then freely to meet in the name of Christ, and to attend to the interests of that church of which you are the chief member. Sir, when you were in your swaddling-clothes, Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land, in spite of all his enemies : his officers and ministers convened and assembled for the ruling and welfare of his church, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction and cutting off. Their assemblies since that time continually have been terrible to these enemies and most steadable to you. And now, when there is more than extreme necessity for the continuance and discharge of that duty, will you, drawn to your own destruction by a devilish and most pernicious council, begin to hinder and dishearten Christ's servants and your most faithful subjects, quarrelling them for their convening and the care they have of their duty to Christ and you, when you should rather commend and countenance

them, as the godly kings and emperors did ? The wisdom of your counsel, which I call devilish, is this, that ye must be served by all sorts of men, to come to your purpose and grandeur, Jew and Gentile, papist and protestant ; and because the protestants and ministers of Scotland are over strong and control the king, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them, and, the king being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him. But, Sir, if God's wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove mere and mad folly ; his curse cannot but light upon it ; in seeking of both ye shall lose both ; whereas in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants would be your sure friends, and he would compel the rest counterfeitly and lyingly to give over themselves and serve you." During the delivery of this speech his Majesty's passion subsided. He repeated his asseverations that he had no previous knowledge of the return of the popish lords, and pledged his word, that the proposals which they had been allowed to make should not be received till they left the kingdom, and that, even then, he would shew them no favour before they satisfied the church *.

But " the church got only words and promises ; her enemies got the deed and effect †." The de-

* Melville's Diary, pp. 276—278. Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciae. Altare. Damasc. pp. 754, 5.

† The saying of Patrick Galloway, one of the ministers of the king's house, at which James was so much offended, that he refused for a considerable time to admit him into his presence. Printed Calderwood, p. 336.

sign of restoring the popish noblemen was persevered in ; James invited the Countess of Huntly to the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth ; and Lady Livingston, an adherent to the Roman Catholic religion, was appointed to have the care of the person of the young princess. Upon this the presbytery of Edinburgh, at the desire of the brethren of Fife, called together the commissioners of the General Assembly *. They, with the advice of deputies from the different synods, drew up a representation of the dangers of the country, conceived in temperate but decided language. This was transmitted to every presbytery. It proposed that the sentence of excommunication against the popish lords should be intimated anew ; and that a certain number of ministers from the four quarters of the kingdom, should sit, during the present crisis, as an ordinary council of the church, to receive information, and to convoke, if they should see cause, a meeting of the General Assembly.

Despairing of being able to overcome the resistance of the ministers, or to bend them to its purposes, the court resolved to put them on their own defence by attacking the privileges of the church. This was first ascertained by the commissioners on the 9th of November, at an interview which they had requested with the King for the purpose of removing the jealousies which had arisen between them. On that occasion, his Majesty told them that

* Record of the Presb. of Edin. 5, Oct. 1596.

there could be no agreement between him and them, till the marches of their jurisdiction were rid, and unless the following points were conceded to him: That ministers should not introduce matters of state into their sermons; that the General Assembly should not be convened without his authority and special command; that nothing done in it should be held valid until ratified by him in the same manner as acts of parliament; and that synods, presbyteries, and kirk sessions, should take cognizance of no offence which was punishable by the criminal law of the country. If, after this declaration, any doubt as to the intentions of the court still remained on the minds of the ministers, it was removed by the information, that David Black had been served with a summons to answer before the privy council for certain expressions used by him in his sermons. Satisfied that the overthrow of the liberties and government of the church was aimed at, the commissioners resolved on making a firm and strenuous resistance. They wrote to the several presbyteries to put them on their guard against any attempts that might be made to disunite them; they exhorted all the brethren to turn their attention particularly to the points which were likely to become the subjects of controversy; and they appointed some of their own number to collect the acts of council and parliament which had been made in favour of the liberties and discipline of the church. Having in vain used means to prevail on the King to desist from the prosecution of Black, the commissioners, after

deliberation, agreed that the rights of the church were inseparably connected with his cause, and advised him to decline the judgment of the privy council as incompetent to decide at first instance on the accusation brought against him. A declinature was accordingly drawn up, and being sent through the presbyteries, was in a very short time subscribed by upwards of three hundred ministers. The contest between the civil and ecclesiastic authorities now became open ; each had recourse to its own weapons in defence of its claims ; and several high and strong measures were taken on both sides.

According to Spotswood's representation, it was chiefly through the persuasions of Melville that the commissioners of the church were induced to make a common cause with Black. The archbishop adds, that when it was proposed to give in a declinature, "this was held a dangerous course, and earnestly dissuaded by some few, but they were cried down by the greater number *." I have no doubt that Melville zealously promoted this measure. His friendship for Black, his conviction of the innocence of his friend, and his having formerly taken the same step when a similar charge was brought against himself, put this beyond all reasonable doubt. But that there was any thing like an opposition among the ministers to the course which was adopted, is more than doubtful. The fact is, that there never was more unanimity in the church than was dis-

* History, pp. 420, 421.

played in this cause. All seemed to be animated with the same sentiment as to the dangerous tendency of the encroachments of the court, and as to the necessity of resisting them. Those who were most distinguished for moderation, such as Rollock, Lindsay, and Buchanan ; and those who were afterwards most active in advancing the views of the King, such as Gladstones, Nicolson, and Galloway, were zealous and forward in defence of the rights of the church on the present occasion *.

It is commonly taken for granted, even by those who are favourable to the cause of the ministers, that Black, during the contest between the King and the church, preached a sermon in which he used a number of freedoms with the royal family, the councillors and judges, which, to say the least, were very unseasonable, and afforded the court a handle against him and his brethren †. But this is not a correct view of the case. Black was summoned *super inquirendis* ; and when, at his appearance before the privy council, on the 10th of November, he objected to this mode of procedure as inquisitorial and illegal, he was told, and told for

* Spots. Hist. pp. 423—430. Printed Cald. pp. 333—336.

† Spotswood says : “ Whilst things thus past betwixt the King and the Church, a new occasion of trouble was presented by Mr David Blake, one of the ministers of St Andrews, who had in one of his sermons cast forth divers speeches full of spight against the King, the Queen, the Lords of Council and Session, and amongst the rest had called the Queen of England an Atheist, a Woman of no religion.” (Hist. p. 420.) The archbishop had the minutes of the Privy Council before him, and consequently could have no excuse for this misrepresentation.

the first time, that the general charge was restricted to the particular one contained in a letter from the English ambassador, complaining of liberties which had been taken with the religious character of his mistress *. His summons bore that he was to be examined, not concerning alleged treasonable or seditious language, but "touching certain undecent and uncomely speeches uttered by him in diverse his sermons made in St Andrews †." So trivial were the delations, or so suspicious the channels through which they came, that his Majesty professed to the commissioners, that "he did not think much of that matter; only they should cause him appear and take some course for pacifying the English ambassador: but take heed (said he) that you do not decline the judicatory; for if you do, it will be worse than any thing that has yet fallen out ‡." The English ambassador, who from the beginning had been pushed on to accuse Black, professed his satisfaction with a private explanation which he received §. But, instead of dropping the process, the court served Black with a new libel, containing articles of charge which had been collected since his former appearance, and which related to his sermons and conduct during the three preceding years. In short, it appears from the whole proceedings, that the offence was not offered, but eagerly sought; and that "the

* See the Minute of the Privy Council in Note E.

† Ibid.

‡ Spotswood, p. 421.

§ Moyes' Memoirs, p. 246.

process against Mr Black was but a policy to divert the ministers from prosecuting their suit against the popish earls *." The accusations in the second libel were odious ; but, although it is probable that he had used expressions which gave some occasion to them, there can be little doubt that his language was distorted, and his meaning misrepresented. At his appearance, he protested that the charges were utterly false and calumnious, and had been devised by base informers who were filled with resentment against him for bringing them under church censure for their faults † ; he produced, in support of his innocence, the testimonials of the provost ‡, baillies, and council of St Andrews, and of the rector, dean of faculty, professors and regents of the university ; he declared his readiness to submit immediately to the trial of the privy council on that article of the libel which charged him with having raised companies of armed men in June 1594 ; and he requested that the other articles should be remitted to the presbytery of his bounds, to whom, and not to the privy council, it belonged to judge, in the first instance, of the doctrines which he had delivered from the pulpit. On the day of his trial (the 30th of November) Black was assisted

* Spotswood, p. 421.

† The principal informer was John Rutherford, minister of Kilconquhar, whom Black had prosecuted before the presbytery for non-residence. (Altare Damasc. p. 425. Crawfurd's MS. History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 193.)

‡ The laird of Dairsie, who could not be suspected of partiality for Black, was at that time provost.

in his defence by Pont and Bruce. The council rejected the declinature, and disregarding the testimonials, proceeded to sustain themselves judges of the whole libel; upon which Black refused to plead. At subsequent diets, all the charges were found proved, and he was sentenced to be confined beyond the North Water, until his Majesty resolved what further punishment should be inflicted on him *.

I have already made some observations on the merits of this question, which had formerly been the subject of litigation between the church and the court †. It is common to censure the ministers for imprudence in entering with so much warmth into Black's defence, when they were involved in another dispute with the King. For my part I have no hesitation in avowing it as my opinion, that the question respecting the liberty of the pulpit, considered in all its bearings, was of more importance than that which related to the popish lords. These noblemen, if restored, might have distracted the country, but they would not have been permitted to ruin it, as long as the preachers were allowed to retain their wonted freedom of speech. A law which would have had the effect of restraining the ministers of Edinburgh alone from expressing any opinion on matters of state, was more to be dreaded at that time than the presence of ten thousand armed Spaniards in the

* See Note F. Cotton MSS. Cal. D. ii. 96. Spotswood, 424—427. A full account of the proceedings in this affair is given in the printed Calderwood, pp. 345—356.

† See vol. i. pp. 294—305.

heart of Scotland. The question was important in another point of view. The indefinite restraint of public rebukes and censures of immorality in all who had any connection with the court, was ultimately aimed at *. Persons may declaim at their pleasure on the insufferable license in which the preachers indulged ; but it will be found, that the discouragement of vice and impiety, the checking of the most crying abuses in the administration of justice, and the preserving of common peace and order in the country, depended upon the freedom of the pulpit to a degree which no one who is not particularly acquainted with the state of things at that period can conceive †.

* “ Because impiety dare not be yet so impudent to crave in expresse terms that sinne be not rebuked, (say the commissioners of the church) it is sought only that his Majesty and Council be acknowledged judges in matters civil and criminal, treasonable and seditious, which shall be found uttered by any minister in his doctrine ; thinking to draw the rebuke of sinne, in the king, councell, or their proceedings, under the name of one of these crimes.” (Printed Cald. p. 362.)

† The author of a letter, which was given in to the palace under the name of the Minister of Kilconquhar, and which fretted James exceedingly, says : “ Had not the discipline of the kirk been more reverently and better executed than the civill policy was these years bygane, the countrie had been cast in a barbarous confusion. Sir, wise men would have your Majesty to ponder that saying, 1 Tim. 3. 5. ‘ If anie man cannot rule his own house, how shall he care for the Kirk of God ? ’ And wise men think and say, that had the ministers winked and been silent att mens proceedings, and suffered you to runne from tyme to tyme your intended course, the crowne long er now had not been on your head.’ (Cald. v. 157, 161, 165.)

I cannot refrain from quoting here the following energetic, and, I must say, affecting passage, which no person can read without feeling that he reads the heart of the writers. It is taken from an address which the commissioners of the church presented to the King and council on the morning of Black's trial. " We are compelled, for clearing of our ministry from all suspicion of such unnatural affection and offices towards your Majesty and the state of your Majesty's country, to call that great Judge who searcheth the hearts, and shall give recompence to every one conform to the secret thought thereof, to be judge betwixt us and the authors of all these malicious calumnies : before whose tribunal we protest, that we always bare, now bear, and shall bear, God willing, to our life's end, as loyal affection to your Majesty as any of your Majesty's best subjects within your Majesty's realm of whatsoever degree ; and according to our power and calling shall be, by the grace of God, as ready to procure and maintain your Majesty's welfare, peace, and advancement, as any of the best-affectioned whatsoever. We call your Majesty's own heart to record, whether ye have not found it so in effect in your Majesty's straits, and if your Majesty be not persuaded to find the like of us all, if it fall out that your Majesty have occasion in these difficulties to have the trial of the affection of your subjects again. Whatsoever we have uttered either in our doctrine or in other actions toward your Majesty, it hath proceeded of a zealous affection toward your

Majesty's welfare above all things, next to the honour of God, as we protest; choosing rather by the liberty of our admonitions to hazard ourselves, than by our silence to suffer your Majesty to draw on the guiltiness of any sin that might involve your Majesty in the wrath and judgment of God. In respect whereof we most humbly beseech your Majesty so to esteem of us and our proceedings as tending always, in great sincerity of our hearts, to the establishing of religion, the surety of your Majesty's estate and crown; (which we acknowledge to be inseparably joined therewith) and to the common peace and welfare of the whole country. We persuade ourselves that howsoever the first motion of this action might have proceeded upon a purpose of your Majesty to have the limits of the spiritual jurisdiction distinguished from the civil, yet the same is entertained and blown up by the favourers of those that are and shall prove in the end the greatest enemies that either your Majesty or the cause of God can have in this country; thinking thereby to engender such a misliking betwixt your Majesty and the ministry as shall by time take away all farther trust, and in end work a division irreconcilable, wherethrough your Majesty might be brought to think your greatest friends to be your enemies, and your greatest enemies to be your friends. There is no necessity at this time, nor occasion offered on our part, to insist on the decision of intricate and unprofitable questions and processes; albeit, by the subtle craft of adversaries of your

Majesty's quietness, some absurd and almost incredible suppositions (which the Lord forbid should enter in the hearts of Christians, let be in the hearts of the Lord's messengers) be drawn in and urged importunately at this time, as if the surety and privilege of your Majesty's crown and authority royal depended on the present decision thereof. We most humbly beseech your Majesty to remit the decision thereof to our lawful assembly that might determine thereupon according to the word of God. For this we protest in the sight of God, according to the light that he hath given us in his truth, that the special cause of the blessing that remaineth and hath remained upon your Majesty and your Majesty's country, since your coronation, hath been and is the liberty which the Gospel hath had within your realm ; and if your Majesty, under whatsoever colour, abridge the same directly or indirectly, the wrath of the Lord shall be kindled against your Majesty and the kingdom, which we, in the name of the Lord Jesus, forwarn you of, that your Majesty's and your Council's blood lie not upon us *." Had James possessed half the wisdom which he laid claim to, he would have perceived that the rights of his crown could be in no danger from the attempts, or from the faithful and affectionate though sometimes officious and rough reproofs, of such men as these : he would have revered their integrity, and been proud of their spirit.

* Printed Cald. pp. 344—5

During the process of Black, and after it was brought to a termination, there were daily communings between the court and the ministers, and a variety of proposals were made on both sides for removing the variance which had arisen *. Very different accounts are given of the causes which defeated the success of these proposals; but there is no reason to doubt, from what the king had already avowed, and from the whole tenor of his proceedings, that if the ministers had yielded the point in dispute, the concession would have been followed by additional encroachments on their rights. As it was, the court was determined against any reconciliation which did not imply an absolute submission to its claims on the part of the church. The proposals made by the commissioners of the church were listened to, and when they entertained the most sanguine hopes of an amicable arrangement, some new difficulty was always started, or some new symptom of hostility manifested †. Finding that they had been amused and deceived, the ministers expressed their dissatisfaction from the pulpit; upon which the court had recourse to the most arbitrary

* Calderwood, 348—356. comp. Spotswood, 423—427.

“† In those treatyis w^t the king (says the F.English ambassador) the commissioners alwayes returned satisfyed, reporting to the rest that the K. was pleased to enter in calme [conference and sundry p^ticular o^ttures were layde forth and lyked therin, and as it [seemed] that the same should have been allowed and authorized pfectly by the K. the next day: so that every night a full end and conclusion was looked to.” (Despatches by Robert Bowes. Edinb. Dec. 14. 1596. Cotton MSS. Calig. D. 11. 96.)

and irritating measures. An act of council was made, prohibiting all from uttering, privately or publicly, in sermons or in familiar conferences, any false or slanderous speeches to the reproach or contempt of his Majesty, his council, proceedings, or progenitors, and from meddling with affairs of state, "present, bygane, or to come, under the pain of death;" commanding all magistrates in burghs, and noblemen and gentlemen in country parishes, to interrupt and imprison any preachers whom they should hear uttering such speeches from pulpits; and threatening with the highest pains all those who should hear offences of this kind committed without revealing them *. Another act had previously passed, requiring that ministers, before receiving payment of their stipends, should subscribe a bond, in which they promised to submit to the judgment of the King and privy council when accused of seditious or treasonable doctrine. At the same time, a proclamation was issued, ordering the commissioners of the General Assembly to leave the capital, and declaring the powers which they claimed to be unwarranted and illegal †.

Melville left Edinburgh, along with the rest of the commissioners, on the 15th of December; but as the events which followed made great noise, and had an important influence on the affairs of the church, it would be improper to pass them over.

* Record of Privy Council, December 13. 1596. Act Parl. Scot. iv. 101, 102.

† Record of Privy Council, Dec. 9, 1596.

The *Octavians*, by the rigid economy which they had introduced into the management of the finances, restricted his Majesty from lavishing money upon his private favourites. Dissatisfied with this, the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, or *Cubiculars*, as they were called, were desirous of driving them from their places, and to accomplish this object they industriously fomented the dissension between the King and the church. They suggested to the principal Octavians, that the friends of the ministers were engaged in a plot against their lives. They, at the same time, assured the ministers, that the Octavians were the advisers of the return of the popish lords, and the prosecution of Black ; that it was through their influence that the mind of the King was alienated from the church, and that they intended nothing less than the overthrow of the protestant religion *.

On the morning of the 17th of December they caused information to be conveyed to Bruce, that Huntly had been all night in the palace, and that his friends and retainers were at hand, waiting for orders to enter the capital. This communication, which was partly true, excited the more alarm, as a charge had just been given to twenty-four of the most zealous citizens to remove from Edinburgh. It being the day of the weekly sermon, the ministers agreed that Bancanquhal, whose turn it was to preach, should desire the barons and burgesses

* Cald. v. 127. Spotswood, 428.

present to meet in the Little Church to advise with them what ought to be done *. The meeting took place after sermon, and two persons from each of the estates were appointed to wait on the King, who happened at that time to be in the Tolbooth with the Lords of Session. Having obtained an audience, Bruce told his Majesty that they were sent, by the noblemen and barons convened in the Little Church, to lay before him the dangers which threatened religion. "What dangers see you?" said the King. Bruce mentioned their apprehensions as to Huntly. "What have you to do with that?" said his Majesty. "And how durst you convene against my proclamation?" "We dare do more than that," said Lord Lindsay; "and will not suffer religion to be overthrown." Upon this the King retired into another apartment, and shut the door. In the mean time, Cranston, a forward minister, was reading to those who were in the church passages from the Old Testament, and, among the rest, the story of Haman and Mordecai. The deputies, on their return, reported, that they had not been able to obtain a favourable answer to their petitions; and Bruce proposed that, deferring the consideration of their grievances, they should for the present merely pledge themselves to

* It is not commonly adverted to, that, besides long usage, the ministers had the authority of an express act of privy council for calling meetings of this kind. The King was aware of this, and procured the repeal of that act. But this was not done until the 5th of March 1597. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 116. comp. Bruce's Apology, in printed Cald. p. 272.)

be constant in the profession and defence of religion. This proposal having been received with acclamation, Bruce besought them, as they regarded the credit of the cause, to be silent and quiet. As they were proceeding, an unknown person (supposed to have been an emissary of the Cubiculars) hastily entered the church, exclaiming, *Fy, save yourselves! the papists are coming to massacre you!* And at the sametime the cry was raised on the street, *To arms! to arms!* Some one exclaimed in the church, *The sword of the Lord and Gideon!* “ These are not our weapons,” said Bruee, who attempted to calm the assembly; but the panick had seized them, and they rushed into the street, where they found a crowd already collected. For a time all was confusion. Some, hearing that the ministers were slain, ran to the church: others, being told that the King was in danger, flocked to the tolbooth. One or two called for the President and Lord Advocate, that they might take order with them for misguiding the King. All accounts that are entitled to any credit agree in stating, that this was the greatest enormity that was committed during the uproar. The ministers immediately called in the aid of the magistrates, and, by their joint persuasions, the tumult was quelled. Within less than an hour there was not an offensive weapon, nor the least symptom of a disposition to riot, to be seen in the streets. The barons and ministers resumed their deliberations in the church, and sent Lord Forbes,

the Laird of Bargeny, and Principal Rollock, to lay their requests before the King, who continued to transact business with the Lords of Session. His Majesty directed them to come to him in the afternoon, when they would have an opportunity of laying their petition before the council; after which he walked down to the palace, attended by his courtiers, with as much quietness and security as he had ever experienced on any former occasion*.

Such are the facts connected with the tumult of *the seventeenth of December*, which has been related in so many histories, and magnified into a daring and horrid rebellion. Had it not been laid hold of by designing politicians as a handle for accomplishing their measures, it would not now have been known that such an event had ever occurred; and were it not that it has been so much misrepresented and abused to the disparagement of the ministers and ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, it would be a

* Cald. v. 128, 176. Spotswood, 428—9. James Melville's History of the Declining age of the Church of Scotland, p. 4, 5. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 2. 12.) Row's Hist. 64—66. Baillie's Historical Vindication, pp. 68—71. Bishop Guthrie represents the tumult as suppressed by a company of musqueteers sent from the castle by the Earl of Mar, and he describes their circuitous march with as much minuteness as if he had accompanied them as their chaplain. (Memoirs, p. 6.) If there was any foundation for this story, it is strange that Spotswood, who was present, should have passed it over. But the blunders which Guthrie has committed in his narrative of this affair are sufficient to discredit his statement, so far as it differs from those of other writers. Calderwood and Spotswood agree in all the material circumstances. Comp. Simsoni Annal. 76

waste of time and labour to institute an inquiry into the real state of the facts *. "No tumult in the world was ever more harmless in the effects, nor more innocent in the causes, if you consider all those who did openly act therein †." It never was seriously alleged that there was the most distant idea of touching the person of the King. Had there been any intention of laying violent hands on those who were the objects of indignation, there was nothing to have prevented the populace, at the commencement of the tumult, from forcing the house in which the unpopular statesmen were assembled. No assault was made upon the meanest creature belonging to the court. No violence was offered to the person or the property of a single individual. So far from partaking of the nature of a rebellion, the affair does not even deserve the name of a riot. Nor did it assume the aspect of one of those popular commotions by which the public peace is liable to

* Adrian Damman, the Resident of the States General at the court of Scotland, transmitted an exaggerated and false account of the affair to his constituents. He was not in Scotland when the tumult happened, and it is evident that his information was derived from James and his courtiers, or rather that his letter was written at their desire and dictation. Damman's letter was published in *Epist. Eccles. et Theologicæ*, (pp. 35—37. edit. 3^{te}) and the substance of it was afterwards adopted by Brandt. (Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 457.) Among the writers of this country who were most industrious in circulating calumnies on this head was Bishop Maxwell in his *Isachar's Burden*, reprinted in *Phoenix*, (vol. i.—pp. 307—309.)

† Baillie's Hist. Vindication, p. 71.

be disturbed in large towns, and to which a wise government seldom thinks of giving importance, by investigating their origin, or by animadverting on those who may have thoughtlessly or imprudently contributed to their excesses.

CHAPTER IX.

1596—1603.

THE tumult in Edinburgh made a pretext for overthrowing the liberties of the church—violent proceedings against the capital—and its ministers—the King's questions respecting the government of the church—caution of the synod of Fife—ecclesiastical convention at Perth—policy of the court in gaining over ministers to its measures—royal visitation of the university of St Andrews—Melville restricted from attending church courts—rights of theological professors—removal of the ministers of St Andrews—parliamentary restoration of bishops—ministers' vote in parliament—opposition to it—caveats under which it was agreed to—death of distinguished ministers—archbishop Beaton restored to the temporalities of the see of Glasgow—Law of Free Monarchies—Basilicon Doron—Gowrie's conspiracy—sufferings of Bruce on account of it—anniversary of the King's deliverance from it—nomination of bishops—the King becomes a covenanter—new translation of the Bible proposed—measures for propagating the gospel in the highlands and islands—Melville confined within the precincts of his college—his correspondence

with Casaubon and Mornay at Plessis—accession of James to the throne of England.

HARMLESS as this uproar was, it afforded the court a pretext for carrying into execution its designs against the liberties and government of the church. A tumult had taken place in the capital, which would necessarily make a noise through the kingdom. It was easy to magnify this into a dangerous and designed rebellion; and it would not be difficult to involve the ministers who were present on the occasion in the odium attached to the fact. This would enable the court to get rid of men who had often proved a disagreeable check on its proceedings; the severities used against them would strike terror into the minds of their brethren; and thus measures might be carried, which, in other circumstances, would have met with a determined and successful resistance. Nothing could be more congenial to the character of James than this piece of Machiavellianism: it had a shew of deep wisdom in the device, and it required a very slender portion of courage in the execution. To secure its success, he began by effecting a reconciliation between the two parties in the court. The Octavians were induced to resign the invidious office of managing the revenue, and to join with the gentlemen of the Bed-chamber in punishing a riot which the latter had raised for the express purpose of driving them from their places *.

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 107.

On the day after the tumult the King hastily quitted the palace of Holyroodhouse. As soon as he was gone, a proclamation was issued, requiring all judges and officers to repair to him at Linlithgow, and commanding every person who had not his ordinary residence in Edinburgh instantly to leave the town. This was followed by severer proclamations. The ministers of Edinburgh, with a number of the citizens, were commanded to enter into ward in the castle; they were summoned to Linlithgow to answer before the privy council *super inquicendis*; and the magistrates were ordered to seize their persons. The tumult was declared to be “ a cruel and barbarous attempt against his Majesty’s royal person, his nobility, and council, at the instigation of certain seditious ministers and barons;” and all who had been accessory to it, or who should assist them, were declared to have incurred the penalties of treason. In the beginning of January, his Majesty, having returned to Edinburgh with great pomp, and in a warlike attitude, held a convention, at which all these proclamations were ratified, and measures of a still stronger kind were taken. It was ordained, that all the courts of justice should be removed to Perth; and that no meeting of general assembly, provincial synod, or presbytery, should henceforth be held within the capital *. A deputation from the town council had

* “ Comperit Georg Todrik one of the baillies of Edin^r with cōmissioners from the kinges Mat^e and chargit the pbre in his

waited on his Majesty at Linlithgow, to protest their innocence, and to implore forgiveness for a tumult which had ended without bloodshed, and which they had done every thing in their power to suppress. Their supplication was rejected, and they heard nothing, while they remained in the palace, but denunciations of vengeance. They were told that the borderers would be brought in upon them, that their city would be razed to the ground, and sown with salt, and that a monument would be erected on the place where it stood to perpetuate the memory

Mr^{es} name to depart outw^e the boundis of the jurisdiction of Ed^r. The p[re]re for obediencie to his Maties lawis concludit to depart and to keip the presbyterie at Leyth." (Rec. of Presbytery of Edinburgh, 11th Ja^r 1596.) *Mr Michael Cranstone* was moderator at this meeting of presbytery, in the absence of Robert Bruce, the ordinary moderator, who had been obliged to abscond. This circumstance throws no small light on the motives of the King's behaviour on the present occasion. Cranston was the minister who had read the story of Haman on the day of the tumult, and the only one whose behaviour had any tendency to inflame the minds of the people. He had been summoned, but was already received into favour; for if this had not been the case, the presbytery would not have thought of putting him into the chair at this time. It was not the conduct of the ministers on the 17th of December, it was the resistance which they had previously made to his measures, at which James was so much offended. Calderwood, in his account of what preceded the tumult, says, " Mr Michael Cranston, then a very forward minister, but now key-cold, readeth the history of Haman and Mordecai." (MS. vol. v. p. 129.)

The minutes of presbytery are dated " Apud Leyth" from Jan. 11, to the 8th of Feb. 1596. After that they are dated " At the Queenis-collegd." On the 9th of August 1597, they begin to be dated " Apud Ed^r."

of the execrable treason which had disgraced it. Intimidated by these menaces, and distressed at the loss of the courts of justice, they came to the resolution of making surrender of their political and religious liberties to the King. The magistrates, in the name of the community, subscribed a bond in which they engaged not to receive back their ministers without his express consent, and to give him in future an absolute negative over the election both of their ministers and magistrates. This pusillanimous submission encouraged the court to treat them with still greater indignity. "The magistrates and body of the town" were declared to be "universally guilty of the odious and treasonable uproar committed against his Majesty." And thirteen individuals, as representatives of the burgh, were ordered to enter into ward at Perth, and stand trial before the court of justiciary. One of the number, who had obtained a dispensation from his Majesty, being absent on the day appointed, a sentence of non-compearance was pronounced against the whole, the citizens were declared rebels, and the property of the town was confiscated. Being thus entirely at the royal mercy, the members of the town council on their knees received his Majesty's gracious pardon, after paying a fine, and giving a new bond, containing articles of submission more humiliating than those which they had already subscribed*. In the mean time, the court was unable,

* Register of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. x. f. 104—117
Record of Privy Council, from December 18, to March 21, 1596.
Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 103—109, 114. Cald. v. 131, 137,

after the most rigid investigation, to discover a single respectable citizen who had taken part in the riot, or the slightest trace of a premeditated insurrection. When we consider the mixture of hypocrisy and tyranny which runs through these proceedings, it is impossible to read the remark with which Spotswood closes his account of them without derision, “Never (says the sycophantish prelate) did any King, considering the offence, temper his authority with more grace and clemency than did his Majesty at this time; which the people did all acknowledge, ascribing their life and safety only to his favour *.”

While the court was breathing out threatenings against all the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and particularly against its ministers, the latter were advised by their friends to withdraw and conceal themselves for a time †. As soon as it was known that they had taken this step, they were publicly denounced rebels. Great keenness was shewn to find some evidence of their accession to the tumult; and when this failed, recourse was had to fabrication in order to criminate them. On the day that the King left Edinburgh

147, 151, 238. Spotswood, pp. 431—434, 444. Melville’s Diary, pp. 288—9.

* Hist. p. 444.

† Bruce and Balcanquhal went into England, Balfour and Watson concealed themselves in Fife. They wrote apologies for their conduct, in which they vindicated themselves from the aspersions thrown on them, and assigned reasons for their flight. The apology by the two former is inserted in Cald. v. 168—191. That by the two latter is inserted in Melville’s Diary, pp. 280—288.

with such marks of displeasure, the barons who remained behind met, and agreed to "take upon them the patrony and mediation of the church and its cause;" and at their desire Bruce wrote a letter to Lord Hamilton to come and "countenance them in this matter against those councillors" who had inflamed his Majesty against them *. Hamilton having conveyed a copy of this letter to the King, some persons about the court (for I do not believe that his lordship was capable of such a disgraceful act) altered and vitiated it in such a manner as to make it express an approbation of the late tumult, and consequently an intention of embodying an armed resistance to the measures of government †. Conscious of the fraud which had been

* According to Spotswood (Hist. p. 492.) the letter was signed by Bruce and Balcanquhal only; but the copy of it inserted by Calderwood has also the subscriptions of Rollock and Watson. (vol. v. p. 132.)

† Both the genuine and the falsified copies of the letter are inserted by Calderwood. (MS. vol. v. 192—8. Speaking of the tumult, the former says: "The people, animated, as effaires, partly be the word and violence of the course, took armes, and made some commotion, fearing the invasion of us y^r ministers; but, be the grace of God, we repressed and pacified the motions incontinent." In the vitiated copy this is altered in the following manner: "The people animated, no doubt, be the word and *motion of God's spirit*, took arms;" and what was said of the ministers repressing the commotion is omitted. Spotswood, in his account of the letter, has followed the falsified copy, without so much as hinting that its genuineness was ever called in question; and at the same time that he quotes from a letter to Lord Hamilton, in which Bruce complains of the vitiation. (History, p. 492, compared with Cald. v. 150.) It is impossible

committed, the court did not dare to make any public use of the vitiated document ; but they circulated it in private, with the view of blasting the reputation of Bruce and his friends.

Matters being thus prepared, a publication appeared in the name of the King, consisting of fifty-five questions. They were drawn up by Secretary

to reprobate such conduct too severely, especially when it is considered, that Spotswood had hitherto co-operated with his brethren, the ministers. According to the accounts of different writers, he had evinced a more than ordinary zeal in forwarding their measures : had subscribed and promoted the subscription of Black's declinature ; had called out his patron, Torphichen, to defend the ministers on the day of the tumult ; and had written over Bruce's apology with his own hand, and even given it a sharper edge. (Cald. v. 175. Printed History, p 339. Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciae: Altare Damasc. p. 753.) Archibald Simson (Annales MSS. p. 76.) agrees with Calderwood in charging Spotswood with acting treacherously before the 17th of December, by informing the court of all that passed in the private meetings of the ministers. This might, however, proceed from undue suspicion. But he appears to have declared for the court-measures soon after the tumult. I find the following references to him in the record of the presbytery of Edinburgh : " Maij iij 1596. Anent the desyre of M. Johnn Spottiswood craving that seing he was resident w'in the burgh, and was admitted to the ministerj, that y'foire he my^t be licentiat to exercise in this p^{bre} Quhais desyre being considerit, it is grantit."— " Apud Leyth xxv^o Ja^{ri} 1596. The exercis made by M. William Birni, and additioun be M. Johnn Spottiswood. The text Exod. 16. beginnand at the 1^v. to the 4. The doctrine judged, the haill brether were offended w^t the doctrine delivered be the said M. Johnn, refusset to let him mak the nixt day, and appointit M. Henrie Blyth to mak the exhortatioun the firs of fe^{rr} nixt." It is highly probable that Spotswood had given offence to the presbytery by what he had said on the differences between the court and the church.

Lindsay, after the example of the questions which archbishop Adamson had framed when the second book of discipline was composed ; and were intended to bring into dispute the principal heads of the established government of the church, and thus to prepare the way for the innovations upon it which the court intended to introduce *. A Convention of Estates and a meeting of the General Assembly were called by royal authority, to be held at Perth in the end of February, to consider these questions. This measure had been previously resolved on, and the questions were prepared before the 17th of December ; although the publication of them was deferred to this time †.

* “ The Questions to be resolvit at the Convention of the Estates and Generall Assemblie, appointed to be at the Burgh of Perth the last day of Februarie next to come. Edinabvrg Print-ed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kinga Majestie. Anno Dom. 1597.” 4to. Subscribed at the close “ James R.” There is in the College Library at Glasgow a copy of this book which appears to have belonged to Melville, and which has on the margin, in his hand-writing, short answers to some of the questions. They agree in general with the answers of the synod of Fife. Spotswood has inserted all the questions in his History (pp. 435—438.) Two slight inaccuracies in the 18th and 58d questions may be corrected by the Printed Calderwood, (pp. 381—389.) where the address *To the Reader*, prefixed to the publication, will also be found.

† Calderwood has shewn this from the minutes of the commissioners of the General Assembly, which he had in his possession. After referring to various minutes between the 11th of November and the 11th of December, he adds : “ So that it is clear that the king intended before the 17th of December to work an alteration in discipline, and to sett the ministers on work to defend themselves that they might be diverted from persecuting the

The leading ministers throughout the kingdom prepared for a vigorous defence of the established discipline. Though grieved at the advantage which the court had gained by the late occurrence in the capital, they did not suffer themselves to fall under an unmanly dread of its menaces. The presbytery of Haddington suspended one of its members for agreeing, without their consent, to an arrangement of the privy council for supplying the pulpits of Edinburgh*. The synod of Lothian virtually approved of the conduct of that presbytery, and testified their dissatisfaction at his Majesty's proposing that they should advise the infliction of censure on their brethren who had fled†. Notwithstanding the royal threat, that those ministers who refused subscription to the lately imposed bond should not have their *pensions*, (as James insultingly called their stipends,) not an individual of any note could be induced to subscribe; and papers were circulated in which the bond was commented on with becoming freedom, and shewn to be ambiguous and ensnar-

excommunicated Earls, which was also the ground of calling Mr David Black before the Counsell for speeches uttered three years before." (MS. Hist. v. 193—4.)

* Record of Presb. of Haddington, Dec. 29, Jan. 12, and Feb. 9. 1596.

† Instructions to Mr John Preston, Mr Edw. Bruce, and Mr Wm. Oliphant, commissioners for the K. of Sc. to the Synod of Lothian, to be convened at Leith, Feb. 1. 1596. (Cotton MSS. Calig. D. II. 97.) This paper contains also the answers made by the synod to his Majesty's propositions.

ing *. One of these papers, which is written with much ability and temper, concludes with these words: "But howsoever it shall please God to dispose of his (Majesty's) heart, the ministry, I dowte not, will keepe themselves within the boundis of their eallinge, and neither directly nor indirectly attempte any thing that shall not be lawfull and seeming for them, but with patience committe all the successe unto the Lorde; remembinge the sayinge of Ambrose, that, when they have done their duties, *preces et lachrimæ arma nostra sunt*, and we have no warrant to proceede farther †."

The synod of Fife set an example to their brethren in the other provinces on this interesting occasion. Having met *pro re nata*, they appointed a committee to draw up answers to the King's questions †. They sent a deputation to request his Ma-

* In one of the papers it is objected, that the bond was so expressed as to imply, that the King by himself, and independently of the courts of justice, might decide on all civil and criminal causes; and that he had a right not only to inflict civil punishment on ministers, but also to deprive them of their office. And it is pleaded that, as the word of God declares the duties of all civil relations, and as idolatry, adultery, murder, &c. are criminal offences, so ministers, for inculcating the former and rebuking the latter, might be charged with a violation of the bond. (Cald. v. 139—145.) It would be easy to justify these interpretations. For example, the late Convention declared, that his Majesty had "power upon any necessitie to command any minister—to preiche or to desist—from preaching in particular placeis." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 107.)

† Objections to the subscription that is obrnded upon the ministers of Scotland. (Cotton MSS. Cal. D. ii. 100.)

‡ Their answers may be seen in the Printed Calderwood, pp. 382—390.

jesty to refer the decision of them to the regular meeting of the General Assembly, and to prorogue the extraordinary meeting which he had called. In case he should not comply with this request, they advised the presbyteries under their inspection to send commissioners to Perth, in testimony of their obedience to the royal authority: but they at the same time drew up instructions for the regulation of their conduct. The commissioners were instructed to declare, that they could not acknowledge that meeting as a lawful General Assembly, nor consent that it should call in question or innovate the established polity of the church. If this point should be decided against them, they were to protest for the liberties of the church, and keep themselves free from all approbation of the subsequent proceedings. In any extra-judicial discussion of the questions that might take place, they were instructed to adhere to the following general principles; that the external government of the church is laid down in the word of God; that it belongs to the pastors and doctors of the church to declare what the Scriptures teach on this head; and, as a scriptural form of government and discipline had after long and grave deliberation been regularly settled in Scotland, as by means of it the church had for many years been happily ruled and preserved from heresy and schism, and as none of the ecclesiastical office-bearers moved any doubts about it, that his Majesty should be requested not to disturb such a rare, peaceable and decent constitution by the agitating of fruitless

and unnecessary questions *. These instructions display much wisdom, and point out the true way of resisting innovations which were about to be effected, not by reason and argument, but by the combined influence of fraud and force.

His Majesty was convinced by these proceedings, that, in order to carry his measures, it behoved him to employ other arts besides those of intimidation. The ministers in the northern parts of the kingdom, owing to the deficiency of their incomes, and their distance from the ordinary seat of the General Assembly, rarely attended the meetings of that judicatory. They were comparatively unacquainted with its modes of procedure, and strangers to the designs of the court; not to mention their general inferiority in point of gifts to their brethren of the south. Sir Patrick Murray, one of the gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, was now despatched on a mission to them. He was instructed to visit the presbyteries in Angus and Aberdeenshire; to acquaint them with the late dangerous tumult, and the undutiful and treasonable conduct of the ministers, in Edinburgh; to procure, if possible, their subscription to the bond; and to desire them to send some of their members to the ensuing assembly to resolve his Majesty's questions, which had already received the approbation of the dis-

* Melville's Diary, pp. 290—292. The presbytery of Edinburgh limited the powers of their representatives in the same way, and gave them similar instructions. (Rec. of the Presb. of Edin. Feb. 22. 1596. Cald. v. 197—199.)

creetest of the southern ministers* In his private conversations, Murray laboured to inspire them with jealousies of the ministers of the south, as wishing to engross the whole management of ecclesiastical affairs, to the exclusion of those who had an equal right and more discretion to use it; and he assured them, that, if they were once acquainted with his Majesty, all the suspicions which they had conceived of him, from the misrepresentations of their ambitious brethren, would be completely removed and dissipated †.

Melville was prevented from being present at Perth, in consequence of his being obliged, in his capacity of rector, to attend a meeting of the university. But he had done his duty in procuring the instructions by which the conduct of the commissioners from Fife was regulated; and his nephew was prepared to express his sentiments on the different points that were likely to be brought forward. After a contest of three days, during which all the

* Instructions to Patrick Murray. (Cotton MSS. Cald. D. ii. 98.) The following extracts from his instructions will shew the kind of arguments which Murray was directed to employ. "We will not believe that the presbyterie of Aberdene will acknowledge any supremacie of the presbyterie and ministers of Edinburge above them.—As to the pretended commissioners of the generall assemblie their commission is found and decernit be us and our counsell to be unlawfull.—So ther is no present power above the said presbyterie of Aberdene to stay them to accept the Earles reasonable satisfaction, in case the same be offerit, sen we and the counsell hes commanded them to accept the same." (Instructions, *ut supra.*)

† Spotswood, 488, 439.

arts of court intrigue were employed in influencing the minds of the voters, it was decided by a majority of votes that the meeting was a lawful General Assembly extraordinarily convened; upon which the commissioners from Fife, agreeably to their instructions, protested that nothing which might be done should be held valid, or improved to the prejudice of the liberties of the church of Scotland. Disgusted at the influence which was exerted, deserted by some of the friends in whom he most confided, destitute of the assistance of his uncle, and distrusting his own constancy, James Melville hastily quitted Perth. His colleagues resolved to remain, and under the protection of their protest, to prevent, as far as was in their power, the assembly from sacrificing the rights of the church. But in spite of all their exertions, his Majesty succeeded in obtaining such answers to his leading questions, as gave him the greatest advantage in carrying on his future operations against the ecclesiastical constitution. The answer of the assembly to the very first question, simple and harmless as it may appear, was, in the circumstances of the time, pregnant with evil, and equivalent to a garrison, on the first parley, agreeing to throw open one of its gates, and to allow the enemy to make a lodgement within the wall*. The King had pub-

* That the assembly, when unbiased, viewed the matter in this light, may be inferred from the manner in which the answer was expressed, before it was altered to please the king: "The breither convened give their advys in the first article, that

lished a long list of questions which went to propose a total alteration of the existing church-government. By declaring, in these circumstances, "that it is lawful to his Majesty or to the pastors to propone in a General Assembly whatsoever point they desired to be resolved or reformed in matters of external government," the assembly virtually and constructively sanctioned the project of the court, although they might reserve to themselves a right to deliberate upon its details. The qualifications added to their resolution, "providing it be done *decenter*, in right time and place, and *animo adificandi non tentandi*," were mere words of course, and could be no safeguard against any proposals of royal reformation. If it behoved them to speak Latin, the answer which they ought to have returned (and it would have served as an answer to all the questions) was, *Nolumus leges Ecclesiae Scoticae mutari*. The answers which the assembly gave to other questions related chiefly to the liberty of the pulpit, upon which they imposed restrictions, which were doubly dangerous at a time when the court had discovered its hostile intentions against the polity of the church, and had procured the assistance of some of its professed guardians to carry them into execution. Having succeeded thus far to his wish, the King signified his willingness to refer the decision of the remaining questions to another

it is not expedient to mak a law or act twiching this leist a dore should be opened to curious and turbulent sprits, otherwise they think it lawful," &c. (Melville's Diary, p. 305. Spotswood, 440.)

General Assembly to be held at Dundee on the 10th of May following ; and, in the mean time, the articles agreed to were ratified by the Convention of Estates which was then sitting at Perth *.

This assembly is chiefly remarkable as being the first meeting of the ministers of Scotland which yielded to that secret and corrupt influence, which the King continued afterwards to practise, until the General Assembly was at last converted into a mere organ of the court, employed for registering and giving out royal edicts in ecclesiastical matters. "Coming to Perth (says James Melville) we found the ministers of the north convened in such number as was not wont to be seen at any assemblies, and every one a greater courtier nor another: So that my ears heard new votes, and my eyes saw a new sight; to wit, flocks of ministers going in and out at the king's palace, late at night and betimes in the morning. Sir Patrick Murray, the diligent Apostle of the North, had made all the northland ministers acquainted with the King. They began

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 110—112. Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 131—134. Cald. v. 222—236. Spotswood, 439—443. Melville's Diary, 303—309. James Melville enumerates thirteen reasons for maintaining the *nullity* of this assembly. The chief of these are: that it was not appointed by the last Assembly, nor called by its commissioners, but by the sole authority of the king; that it was not opened by sermon; and that there was no choice of a moderator or clerk. The Buik of the Universal Kirk says: "Exhortatioun y^e was none;" and it mentions no moderator. It says that Mr Thomas Nicholson was chosen clerk; but states, on the margin, that some thought his election did not take place till the subsequent assembly.

then to look big in the matter, and find fault with the ministers of the south and the popes of Edinburgh, who had not handled matters well, but had almost lost the King *." The King afterwards depended chiefly upon the votes of the northern ministers for carrying his measures. The General Assembly was appointed to meet at such places as were most convenient for their attendance ; and if at any time it was found necessary to remove it to a greater distance from them, ways and means were fallen upon to provide them with a *viaticum* †.

But to secure credit to his cause it was necessary for his Majesty to gain over some individuals who possessed greater respectability, and who were able to plead as well as to vote for his plans. James Nicolson, minister of Meigle ‡, was highly esteemed among his brethren. He was the bosom friend of James Melville. At assemblies they always lodged

* Diary, p. 308. comp. his History of the Declining Age of the Church, p. 7.

† "I am bold humbly to advise your Majesty, that, in the designation of the place of the ensuing G. Assembly, your Majesty make choice either of the place appointed by the last Assembly, whilk will help the formality of it, or then of Dundee, where your Majesty knows your own northern men may have commodity to repair. And albeit your Majesty's princely liberality may supply distance of place by furniture to those that travel, yet &c." (Letter of Archbishop of St Andrews to the king: April 18. 1610. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Fac. v. 1. 12. № 50.

‡ Mr James Nicholson was presented to the parsonage and vicarage of Cortquhay, on the 7th of May, 1580 : and to the parsonage and vicarage of Meigle, " penult febr. 1583." (Register of Present. to Benefices, vol. ii. fl. 34, 97.)

in the same apartment, and slept in the same bed ; and harmonized as much in their sentiments about public affairs as they did in their private dispositions. On the evening before the question respecting the constitution of the assembly was determined, Nicolson was amissing ; and in the morning James Melville learned, to his astonishment and grief, that the mind of his friend had undergone a sudden revolution. He had been sent for to the palace, where he was detained till a late hour ; and the King, partly by threats that if his will was not complied with he would ruin the church, and partly by promises and flatteries, had engaged his vote. The two friends went together to the meeting of ministers ; and after James Melville had reasoned at great length against the proposal of the court, Nicolson rose and replied to his arguments in a plausible speech, which had the greatest influence in persuading the members to come to the resolution which was adopted. Thomas Buchanan distinguished himself during the assembly by the boldness and ability with which he asserted the liberties of the church. Having summoned the ministers into the apartment in which the Convention of Estates was met, the King provoked the friends of the established discipline to a dispute on the subject of his queries, by insinuating that their silence proceeded from cowardice and distrust of their cause. “ We are not afraid, (replied Buchanan) nor do we distrust the justice of our cause ; but we perceive a design to canvass and toss our

matters, that they may be thrown loose, and left to the decision of men of little skill and less conscience." Having protested that nothing which he might say should invalidate the authority of the received discipline, he proceeded to examine the doubts started by the royal queries, and exposed their weakness in a style not greatly to his Majesty's satisfaction. But, alas ! this was the expiring blaze of Buchanan's zeal. Before he left Perth he was sprinkled with "the holy water of the court," and at next assembly appeared as an advocate for those measures which he had so eagerly and so ably opposed*. It may be observed, however, that there is reason to think, that Buchanan, and some others who acted in this way, intended merely to conciliate some points which they deemed of less importance, with the design of pleasing the King. They appear to have been kept in ignorance of the ulterior designs of James, which were imparted to such men as Gladstones, Spotswood, and Law, who had then little influence in the church, and had been corrupted by the promise of bishoprics. But the conduct of the former contributed materially to promote the object of the latter, and to bring them into notice ; and although they may be exculpated from mercenary motives, we cannot but blame them for weakness and want of foresight.

Melville learned the proceedings at Perth with deep concern, but without feelings either of surprise or despondency. He perceived the course which the

* Melville's Diary, pp. 303, 308, 311.

court was driving, and that nothing would satisfy the King but the overthrow of the presbyterian constitution. Attached to this from conviction as well as from the share he had had in its erection, satisfied of its intrinsic excellence and its practical utility, and believing it to be the cause of Christ, of freedom, and of his country, he resolved to defend it with intrepidity and perseverance, to yield up none of its outworks, to fight every inch of ground, and to sacrifice his liberty, and, if necessary, his life, in the contest. With this view he joined with some of his brethren in keeping the day fixed for holding the ordinary meeting of the General Assembly. This meeting was constituted by Pont, the last moderator, after which the members present agreed to dismiss, and to refer all business to the assembly which the King and Convention at Perth had appointed to be held in Dundee. By this step the right of the church as to the convocating and holding of her assemblies, which it was one great object of the court to infringe, was so far maintained *.

The King was sensible that the advantages which he had gained at Perth were in no small degree owing to the absence of Melville, and he dreaded his opposition in the assembly at Dundee. Before it proceeded to business, Sir Patrick Murray, who was now become his Majesty's Vicar-general, sent for James Melville, and dealt with him to persuade his uncle to return home, otherwise the King would take

* Melville's Diary, p. 309. Cald. v. 240.

forcible measures to remove him. James Melville replied, that it would be to no purpose for him to make the attempt. If his Majesty should use his authority in the way of commanding him to leave the town, he had no doubt, he said, that his uncle would submit, but death would not deter him from acting according to his conscience. "Surely, I fear he shall suffer the dint of the king's wrath," said Sir Patrick. "And truly," replied the other, "I am not afraid but he will 'bide all.'" James Melville reported the conversation to his uncle, "whose answer, (says he) I need not to write." Next morning they were both sent for to the royal apartments. The interview was at first amicable and calm; but entering on the subject of variance, Melville delivered his opinion with his wonted freedom, and the altercation between him and the King soon became warm and boisterous*.

Notwithstanding all the arts of management employed, it was with difficulty that the court carried its measures, even in a very modified form, in this assembly. The assembly at Perth was declared lawful, but not without an explanation; its acts were approved, but with certain qualifications; and the additional answers given to the King's questions were guardedly expressed. Through the influence of the northern ministers an act passed in favour of the popish lords, authorizing certain

* " And ther they hecled on, till all the hous and clos bathe hard, mikle of a large houre. In end the king takes upe, and dismissis him favourable." (Melville's Diary, p. 312.)

ministers to receive them into the bosom of the church, upon their complying with the conditions prescribed to them. They were received accordingly; although it was evident that they were induced to submit, in consequence of the failure of an attempt which some of their adherents had made on the peace of the kingdom; and it was soon after found necessary, with the consent of government, to bring them again under the sentence of excommunication. The design of altering the government of the church was carefully concealed from this assembly; but the King obtained their consent, under a specious pretext, to a measure by which he intended to accomplish it clandestinely. He requested them to appoint some of their number with whom he might advise respecting certain pieces of important business which they could not at present find leisure to determine; such as, the arrangements respecting the ministers of Edinburgh and St Andrews, the planting of vacant churches, and the providing of local and fixed stipends for the ministers through the kingdom. To this the assembly agreed, and nominated fourteen ministers, granting to them, or any seven of them, power to convene with his Majesty for the above purposes, and to give him advice "in all affairs concerning the weal of the church, and entertainment of peace and obedience to his Majesty within his realm." This was a rash and dangerous appointment. The General Assembly had been in the habit of appointing commissioners to execute particular measures, or to watch over the

safety of the church until their next meeting. But the present commission was entirely of a different kind. The persons nominated on it were appointed formally as advisers or assessors to his Majesty. They were in fact his ecclesiastical council ; and as, with exception of an individual or two named to save appearances, they were devoted to the court, he was enabled, by their means, to exercise as much power in the church as he did by his privy council in the state. “ A wedge taken out of the church to rend her with her own forces,” says Calderwood : “ the very needle (says James Melville) which drew in the episcopal thread *.”

James was too fond of the ecclesiastical branch of his prerogative, and too eager for the accomplishment of his favourite plans, to suffer the new powers which he had acquired to remain long unemployed. Repairing to Falkland on the rising of the Assembly at Dundee, he called the presbytery of St Andrews before him, reversed a sentence which they had pronounced against a worthless minister, and restored him to the exercise of his office. Accompanied by his privy councillors, laical and clerical, he next repaired to the town of St Andrews, for the double purpose of expelling its ministers, and imposing such restrictions on the university as would facilitate his future operations. He attended public worship on the day of his arrival ; and when

* Birk of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 184—188. Melville’s Diary, pp. 311—2. Hist of Decl. Age of the Church, p. 10. Cald. v. 243—261. Spotswood, pp. 445—457.

Wallace was about to proceed to the application of his discourse, James, either afraid of the freedom which he might use, or wishing to gratify his own dictatorial humour, interrupted the preacher, and ordered him to desist. Indignant at this interference, Melville (although aware that one object of the royal visit was to find ground of accusation against himself) rose and sharply rebuked the King, and at the same time censured the commissioners of the church for their tame silence on the occasion *.

At the Royal Visitation of the university †, great eagerness was testified to find matter of censure against Melville. All those individuals, in the university or in the town, whose envy or ill-will he had incurred, were encouraged to come forward with complaints against him; and a large roll, consisting of informations to his prejudice, was put into the hands of the King. He underwent several strict examinations before the visitors. But the explanations which he gave of his conduct were so satisfactory, and his defence of himself against the slanders of his detractors so powerful, that the visitors could find no ground or pretext for proceeding against him, either

* Melville's Diary, p. 313.

† In this visitation six of the commissioners of the church were associated with certain members of the privy council, the provost of St Andrews, &c. The founded persons in the several colleges were required to give in to the visitors, " yair greiffis & disorders and contraversies gif thay ony haif, togidder with the abuses and enormiteis cōmittit w'in ye samin;" &c. (Summonds to appear before the Visitors: July 7. 1597.)

as the head of his own college, or as the chief magistrate of the university *. Spotswood has preserved some of the accusations brought against Melville, and disingenuously represents them as having been proved before the visitors. "In the New Colledge, (says he) whereof the said Mr Andrew had the charge, all things were found out of order; the rents ill husbanded, the professions neglected, and, in place of divinity lectures, politick questions oftentimes agitated: as, 'Whether the election or succession of Kings were the better form of government;' 'How far the royal power extended;' and, 'If Kings might be censured for abusing the same, and deposed by the Estates of the Kingdom.' The King to correct these abuses did prescribe to every professor his subject of teaching, appointing the first master to read the Common Places to the students, with the Law and History of the Bible; the second to read the New Testament; the third, the Prophets with the Books of Ecclesiastes and Canticles; and the fourth, the Hebrew Grammer, with the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the Book of Job †." The *Acts of the Visitation*, which were in the archbishop's possession, are still in existence, and disprove every one of these allegations. They do not contain one word which insinuates that the affairs of the New College were out of order ‡; and the

* Melville's Diary, p. 318.

† History, p. 449.

‡ One would almost suppose that Spotswood had confounded

regulations made respecting the future management of the academical revenues apply equally to all the colleges. Nor do they contain one syllable on the subject of abuses in the mode of teaching. It is true that they prescribe the branches to be taught in the different classes ; but this was not intended to " correct abuses." It was an arrangement made in the prospect of an additional professor being established in the college, according to a recommendation of the visitors ; a fact which Spetswood has suppressed. While I am obliged to expose these unpardonable perversions of a public document, I am quite ready to admit that something of the kind mentioned by the archbishop might be included among the accusations presented against the principal of the New College. The head *de Magistrato* is to be found in every System of Divinity, and falls to be treated by every theological professor in the course of his lectures. I have little doubt, that Melville, when he came to that part of his course, laid down the radical principles on which a

the Visitation of 1597 with another which took place after he had been many years chancellor of the university, when it was stated by authority, " that of late years some abuses, corruptions, and disorders have arisen and are still yet fostered and entertained within the New College of St Andrews, partly upon the occasion of sloth, negligence and coarivance of the persons—to whose credit and care the redress and reformation of these abuses properly appertained—whereupon has followed the dilapidation &c. of the patrimonie—the neglect of the ordinary teaching—the Professours are become careless and negligent," &c. &c. (Commission for Visitation, Nov. 29. 1621.)

free government and a limited monarchy rest; and it is not at all improbable that the young men under his charge would take the liberty of occasionally discussing questions connected with this subject in their private meetings *. This will not now be considered as reflecting any dishonour on him or his scholars. On the contrary, his countrymen will learn with pride, and with gratitude, that, in an age when the principles of liberty were but partially diffused, and under an administration fast tending to despotism, there was at least one man holding an important public situation, who dared to avow such principles, and who embraced an opportunity of imparting to his pupils those liberal views of civil government by which the presbyterian ministers were long distinguished, and which all the ef-

* Speaking of this subject in another work, Spotswood says: "Hec erat discipulorum" &c. "This was the theology of the students of the New College, who at that time were more conversant with Buchanan's book, *De Jure Regni*, than with Calvin's *Institutions*." (Refutatio Libelli, p. 67.) To this Calderwood replies: "Neminem novi Theologi" &c. "I know none among us entitled to the name of a Divine, who has not read Calvin's *Institutions* more diligently than Spotswood, who, I suspect, is scarcely capable of understanding them, although he should read them. Must a Divine spend all his days in studying nothing but Calvin's *Institutions*? Why should not a Scottish theologian read the *Dialogue* of a learned Scotsman concerning the law of government among the Scots?" (Epist. Philad. Vind. Altare Damasc. p. 753.) Whatever the archbishop might do, the King, at least, could not blame those who neglected Calvin. It was one of the wise sayings of James, "That Calvin's *Institutions* is a childish work!" (Cald. iv. 218.)

forts of a servile band of prelates, in concert with an arbitrary court and a selfish nobility, were afterwards unable to extinguish or suppress.

Unable to find any thing in his conduct which was censurable, the visitors deprived Melville of his rectorship. This was easily accomplished ; for, disapproving of the union of that office with the profession of theology, he had accepted it at first with reluctance, and acquiesced conditionally in his last re-election. Of this circumstance the visitors availed themselves to prevent the odium which they must have incurred by *ejecting* him *.—Under the pretext of providing for the better management of the revenues of the colleges, a council, nominated by the King, was appointed, with such powers as gave it a control over all academical proceedings. Thus his Majesty was furnished with a commission to rule the church, and a council to rule

* “ In respect the present Rector alledges he never accepted the said office but conditionally, against the form of such elections, therefore the office is found vacant.” *Acts of Visitation*. *Melville’s Diary*, p. 313. *Spotswood* says that the King, understanding that Melville had continued rector for a number of years together “ against the accustomed form,” commanded a new election ; “ and for preventing the like disorders a statute was made that none should be continued Rector above a year.” (*Hist.* p. 448.) But how do the facts stand ? *John Douglas* was Rector from 1550 to 1572 ; *Robert Hamilton* from 1572 to 1576 ; *James Wilkie* from 1576 to 1590 ; *Melville* from 1590 to 1597 ; and *Robert Wilkie* from 1597 to 1608. The re-election of *Robert Wilkie* was sanctioned by the King. (*The King’s Majesties Second Visitation*.)

the university, until he should be able to place bishops over both, and become supreme Dictator in religion and literature, as well as in law.

But the regulation which was intended chiefly to affect Melville remains to be mentioned. All doctors and regents who taught theology or philosophy, not being pastors in the church, were discharged, under the pain of deprivation and of rebellion at the instance of the Conservator, from sitting in sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, or general assembly, and from all teaching in congregations, except in the weekly exercise and censuring of doctrine. To reconcile them in some degree to this invasion on their rights, the actual masters were allowed annually to nominate three persons, from whom the council appointed by the visitors should choose one to represent the university in the General Assembly; provided the same individual should not be re-elected for three years. The pretext of concern for the interests of learning, by preventing the teachers from being distracted from their duties, was too flimsy to impose upon a single individual. The court was anxious to get rid of Melville's opposition to its measures in the church judicatories; and this was deemed the safest way of accomplishing that object, according to the creeping, tortuous, and timid policy of James. In imposing this restriction on the professors, the visitors acted entirely by regal authority; for no such powers were conveyed to them by the act of parliament

under which they sat*. They were guilty of an infringement of the rights of the church: for, by law and by invariable practice, doctors or theological professors were constituent members of her judicatories†. A greater insult was offered to the members of the university by the reservation made in this case, than if the privilege had been altogether taken from them. They were not deemed fit to be entrusted with the power of choosing their own representative to the General Assembly. This was given to a council, composed of individuals who did not belong to their body, and who were the creatures of the King. No wonder that Rollock sunk in the esteem of his friends, by suffering himself, as one of the visitors, to be made a tool to enslave the university in which he was educated, and to afford a precedent for afterwards enslaving the learned institution over which he himself presided. Indeed, by one of the regulations to which he gave his sanction on the present occasion, he virtually stripped himself of the right to sit in ecclesiastical judicatories; and in order to escape from the operation of his own law, he found it necessary to take a step which violated its ostensible principle, by undertaking the additional duty of a fixed pastor of a particular congregation ‡. The record bears, that

* In the year 1599, the ratification of a Convention of Estates was procured to this and other regulations of the Visitors. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 189.)

† See Note G.

‡ See under the preceding Note.

all the masters willingly submitted to the orders of the visitors, and gave their oath to observe them under the pain of deprivation. As far as Melville was concerned, this promise could mean no more than that he would run his risk of the penalty; for he was determined not to relinquish his right to sit in the church courts.

There is another act of the visitors which illustrates the malignant influence of arbitrary power on the interests of learning. William Welwood, professor of Laws in St Salvator's College*, being called before them, was declared to have transgressed the foundation in sundry points, and was deprived of his situation. Welwood was the friend of Melville and of the ministers of St Andrews †. Whether, in his lectures, he had touched those delicate questions respecting the origin and limits of kingly power which his friend was accused of discussing, I have

* John Arthour (a brother-in-law of archbishop Adamson) succeeded William Skene as professor of Laws. (Carta Recessus pro Reformatione, Junij 21. 1586.) On his removal Welwood exchanged the Mathematical for the Juridical chair, about the year 1587. (Melville's Diary, pp. 900—903.)

† *Ad Expediendas Processus in Iudiciis Ecclesiasticis. Appendix Parallelorum Juris divini humanique.* Lvgd. Bat. 1594. 4to. Pp. 12. The epistle dedicatory is inscribed: *Fidis "Christi sernis, DAVIDI BLAKKIO et ROBERTO WALLÆ, Ecclesiae Andreapolitanæ pastoribus vigilantissimis fratribusque plurimum dilectis, G. VELVOD."* Scaliger's epitaph on Buchanan was published for the first time at the end of this work, and is introduced with the following note: "Ne reliqua esset pagina vacua, placuit subiicere Carmen hoc ab auctore ipso etiam assentiente, dum ista cuderentur, oblatum."

no means of ascertaining. But his profession was obnoxious in the eyes of James. Accordingly, the visitors declared in their wisdom, "that the profession of the Laws is no ways necessary at this time in this university;" and the class was suppressed. Another set of visitors, two years after, ventured to recommend the seeking out of "a sufficient learned person in the Laws, able to discharge him both in the ordinary teaching of that profession in the said college, and of the place and jurisdiction of commissar within the diocese;" but the recommendation was "delete by his Majesty's special command *." James considered himself as Teacher of Laws to his whole kingdom; and, unquestionably, royal proclamations were the proper commentaries on statutes which derived their sole authority from the royal sanction, according to his favourite device, *Ejus. est explicare cujus est condere.*—Melville might have shared the same fate as Welwood, had it not been for circumstances which pressed the fear of disgrace into the service of a sense of justice. There was at that time in the university a number of young men from Denmark, Poland, France, and the Low Countries, who had been attracted to

* The Actis and Recesse of the King's two Visitations of the Univ. of St And^e. In the year 1600, the king, out of "bis frie favour and clemency decerned Mr Wm Walwood to be re-possessed in the lawyers place and professiouin in the auld college of Sanctandrous"—"upon his giving sufficient bond and security for his dutiful behaviour to his Mai^t." But his restitution did not take place, at least not at that time. (His Majesty's Order and Letters, June 6. and Nov. 3. 1600, and March 9. 1611.)

Scotland by the fame of Melville's talents. James was afraid to take a step which would have the effect of lowering his reputation in the eyes of the foreign literati, whose good opinion he was fond of cultivating*.

It may be mentioned here, that there was another royal visitation of the university in the year 1599. On that occasion it was agreed that the faculty of theology should be restored, but the designations to be given to the graduates was left to subsequent arrangement. Melville was chosen Dean of the theological faculty. No provision was made for carrying into effect the recommendation of the former visitors, by the settlement of a fourth professor in the New College †.

While the visitors were busy in imposing such regulations on the university as were dictated by his Majesty, the commissioners of the General Assembly had gratified him by their proceedings against the ministers of St Andrews. Wallace was accused of charging Secretary Lindsay with partiality and injustice in the examination of the witnesses on Black's process. This might have been excused, as proceeding from the amiable feeling of sympathy with his colleague; and the Secretary professed his willingness to pass over the offence. But he was incited to prosecute; and Wallace, having declined the judgment of the commissioners, was removed by their

* Melville's Diary, p. 313.

† Acts of Visit. and Diary, ut supra.

sentence from St Andrews*. Black was removed without any form of process †; and George Gladstones, minister of Arbirlot in Angus, was nominated as his successor ‡. Gladstones was a man completely to his Majesty's mind. He had a competent portion of pedantry, was abundantly vain-glorious, and at the same time possessed all the obsequiousness which is requisite in one who is to be raised to the primacy. Considering the dissatisfaction of the presbytery and better part of the congregation, his admission to St Andrews might have been attended with difficulties, had not James Melville, from amiable motives, taken an active part in persuading the parties to make a virtue of necessity §. Black

* Mr Ro. Wallace reasons of his Declinature. (MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 5. 1.) Melville's Diary, pp. 313, 314. Spotswood, 448.—On the 10th of December 1602, Mr Robert Wallace was admitted minister of Tranent. (Record of Presb. of Haddington, Dec. 8. 1602.) James Gibson was translated from Pencaitland to Tranent on the 9th of May 1598. On the 6th of October 1602, a report was made of "the deceis of loving brother James Gibsone, of gud memorie." (Ibid.)

† Spotswood's misrepresentations of this affair are considered in Note H.

‡ He was at first a schoolmaster in Montrose, and had been minister in several parishes before his settlement at Arbirlot. (Wodrow's Life of Gladstones, p. 1. MSS. Bibl. Cul. Glas. vol. 4.) It would seem, from a letter of Melville, that Gladstones married a daughter of John Dury, and consequently was brother-in-law to James Melville. For, writing of the archbishop's death, he says: "I have pitie on his wyfe and children, if it were but for good Johnne Duries memory, whose simplicity and sincerite in his lyfe tyme condemned the worldly wisdom in all without exception." (MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.)

§ Melville's Diary, p. 316.

was admitted to the parish which Gladstanes had left. During the six years that he survived this event, he gained universal esteem by his private conduct, and by the affectionate and contented spirit with which he discharged his pastoral duties among a simple people. He died of an apoplexy, when he was in the act of dispensing the communion elements to his people. The circumstances of his death are beautifully described in a poem which Melville composed on the death of his friend *.

Having taken precautions to prevent opposition in those quarters from which it was most to be dreaded, the court thought that it might now safely commence its operations. The commissioners of the General Assembly, who are henceforward to be considered as moving at the direction of the King, gave in a petition to the parliament, held in the month of December 1597, requesting that the church should be admitted to a vote in the supreme council of the nation. The objections which the nobility and other members felt to this measure, were overcome by royal influence. It was declared that prelacy was the third estate of the kingdom ; that such pastors and ministers as his Majesty should please to raise to the dignity of bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should have as complete a right to sit and vote in parliament as those of the ecclesiastical estate had enjoyed at any former period ; and that bishoprics, as they became vacant,

* See under Note H.

should be conferred on none but such as were qualified and disposed to act as ministers or preachers. The spiritual power to be exercised by bishops in the government of the church, was left by the parliament to be agreed upon between his Majesty and the General Assembly, without prejudice, in the meantime, to the authority possessed by the several ecclesiastical judicatories*. The last clause has been ascribed to the respect which the estates felt for the presbyterian discipline, and their fears that "this beginning would tend to the overthrow of the established order of the church, which they had sworn to defend †." Such might be the views really entertained by some members of parliament, and they might be professed by others; but it is probable that the form of the act was agreeable to the King, who was aware of the opposition which it would meet with from the ministers, and knew that it was only in a gradual manner, and by great art and management, that episcopacy could be introduced into the church.

The commissioners of the church were anxious to represent what they had done in the most favourable light. In a circular letter which they addressed to presbyteries, desiring them to send their representatives to the General Assembly at Dundee in the month of March following, they took credit to themselves for having procured a meeting of that

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 130, 131.

† MS. History of the Reformation, by Mr John Forbes, minister of Alford, p. 19.

court at an earlier day than had been appointed. They spoke of the petition which they had given into the late parliament as merely a prosecution of similar petitions presented by the church ; and they connected it with the providing of fixed stipends for ministers, and rescuing them from the poverty and contempt under which they had so long suffered. They dwelt on the difficulty which they, in concert with his Majesty, had felt in procuring this boon for the church ; mentioned the care which they had taken that it should be granted without prejudice to the established discipline ; and signified that it was the advice and earnest wish of their best friends that they should not hesitate to accept it, although the grant was not made altogether in the form which they could have desired *. These were but "good words and fair speeches to deceive the simple." The commissioners had no instructions from their constituents to take any step in this important affair. It is true that the General Assembly had often complained that persons who had no authority or commission from the church took it upon them to sit and vote in parliament in her name ; and in some instances a wish had been expressed by the church that some individuals appointed by her should be admitted to a voice in such parliamentary causes as involved her interest. But this was not her deliberate and unanimous opinion, at least of late ; and far less had she agreed that these voters should

* Printed Cald. pp. 413—4.

be ministers of the gospel. On the contrary, it was the decided opinion of the principal ministers that the parliamentary commissioners should be ruling elders, or such laymen as the church might think proper to chuse*. In fine, whatever might be the views of the estates, the evident object of the King was, by means of the ministers' vote in parliament, to introduce episcopacy into the church; and it requires the utmost stretch of charity to believe that the commissioners were ignorant of his intentions.

The provincial synod of Fife met soon after the dissolution of parliament. Sir Patrick Murray was sent to it with a letter from the King, in which all the arguments which the commissioners had used in

* The only evidence (as far as I can recollect) of the ministers having proposed that some of their number should have votes in parliament, is to be found in the Remarks which they made at Linlithgow on the acts of the Parliament 1584. But there was no meeting of the General Assembly at that time; and the clause in question was inserted at the instance of Pent, who had been a Lord of Session, in opposition to the opinion of other ministers, and particularly of Melville and his nephew. Even in that document, an alternative is proposed: "Discreet commissioners of the most learned, both in the law of God and of the country, being of the fature of the ministrie, or eldore of the kirk, are to represent that estate, at whose mouth the law ought to be required, namely in ecclesiastical matters." (Melville's Diary, p. 171.) In October 1581, the assembly agreed "that touching voting in parliament [and] assyning in counsell, commissioners from ye generall kirk sould suplie ye place of bishops. And as to ye exerceing of ye civill or criminall jurisdiction anent ye office of Bishops, ye heretabill baillies sould vse ye same." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 118, b.)

favour of the vote in parliament were repeated and enforced. The impression at first produced by these representations was soon removed by the speeches of the more judicious members of synod. James Melville, to the great displeasure of the King's commissioner, warned his brethren of the consequences of their giving their consent to the proposed measure. The ministers whom they sent to parliament behaved, he contended, to be bishops, else they could not vote according to the late act; and what was this but to begin to rebuild what they had taken so much pains and time to pull down? His uncle followed on the same side. As he was proceeding in his usual style of vehement oratory, he was interrupted by Thomas Buchanan, who told him, that he had no right to take part in the discussion. "It was my province (replied Melville) to resolve questions from the word of God, and to reason, vote, and moderate in the assemblies of the church, when yours was to teach grammar rules:" a retort which was much relished by the members of synod, who were offended at the late tergiversation of Buchanan, and at his rude interruption on the present occasion. A disposition to defend their constitution against the danger to which it was exposed now pervaded the whole assembly. The venerable Ferguson adverted to the early period at which the evils of episcopacy had been discovered in Scotland; he narrated the means which had been used, from pulpits and in assemblies, to expel it completely from the church; and having compared the project

now on foot to the artifice by which the Greeks, after a fruitless siege of many years, succeeded at last in taking Troy, he concluded by addressing his brethren in the language of the Dardan prophetess, “ *Equo ne credite, Teucri.*” Davidson, whose zeal had prompted him to attend this meeting, shewed that the parliamentary voter was a bishop in disguise, and catching enthusiasm from the speech of his aged brother, exclaimed, “ *Busk*, busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can, and fetch him in as fairlie as ye will, we see him weill eneuch, we see the horns of his mitre †.*”

I would not give a faithful picture of the sentiments of the age and of the state of public feeling, if I passed over altogether the impression made on the public mind by two extraordinary phenomena which occurred at this time. In the month of July 1597, a smart shock of an earthquake was felt in the north of Scotland, which extended through Perthshire, Athol, Braidalban, and Ross; and in the February following there was a great eclipse of the sun. Both of these occurrences were deemed portentous, even by those who were acquainted with their natural causes, and viewed as prognosticating a disastrous revolution which should shake the constitution and obscure the glory of the church. James Melville gives the following account of the last of these appearances: “ In the month of February (1598), upon the 25th day, being the Saturday,

*Dress.

† Melville’s Diary, p. 326—7.

betwixt nine and ten hours before noon, a most fearful and conspicuous eclipse of the sun began, which continued about two hours space. The whole face of the sun seemed to be darkness and covered about half a quarter of an hour, so that none could see to read upon a book ; the stars appeared in the firmament ; and the sea, land, and air, were so stilled and stricken dead, as it were, that, through astonishment herds, families, men and women, were prostrate to the ground. Myself knew, out of the Ephemerides and Almanack, the day and hour thereof, and also, by natural philosophy, the cause, and set myself to note the proceedings thereof in a basin of water mixed with ink, thinking the water but common. But when it came to the extremity of darkness, and my sight lost all the sun, I was stricken with such heaviness and fear that I had no refuge but prostrate on my knees, commanded myself to God and cried mercy. This was thought by all the wise and godly very prodigious ; so that from pulpits and by writings both in prose and verse, admonitions were given to the ministers to beware that the changeable glistering shew of the world should not get in betwixt them and Christ *.

* Hist. of the Declining Age of the Church, p. 8. In his Diary he has given a similar account of the eclipse ; which is one of the internal marks of the two histories being written by the same author. "I was not ignorant, (says he) of the natural cause y^r of, and yet when it cam to the amazfull uglie alriche darknes I was cast on my knies, and my hart almaist fealled." The verses which he composed on this occasion are in Diary, p. 320. The

In the prospect of the ensuing General Assembly, Melville felt the awkward situation in which he was placed by the restriction imposed on him at the late visitation of the university. He did not, however, hesitate in resolving to make his appearance, whatever it might cost him. Had he acted otherwise at such a crisis, he would have betrayed the rights of the church, and forfeited the honour which he had acquired by his exertions in the establishment of the presbyterian constitution. When his name was mentioned, at the calling of the roll in the beginning of the assembly, his Majesty challenged it, and said that he could not agree to the admission of one whom he had restricted from attending on church courts. Melville defended his right. His Majesty's prohibition, he said, might extend to his place and emoluments in the university, but could not affect his doctoral office, which was ecclesiastical: he had a commission from his presbytery, and was resolved, for his part, not to betray it. Davidson spoke on the same side, and reminded the King that he was present as a Christian, and not as president of the assembly. James attempted a reply to this, but had recourse to the ultimate reason of kings, by declaring that he would allow no business to be transacted until his will was complied with. Melville accordingly retired; but not until he had, as usual, briefly but nervously declared his sentiments on the leading business which was to engage the attention of

more poetical description of his uncle may be seen in *Delitiae Poet. Scot.* ii. 120.

the assembly. He was commanded to confine himself to his lodgings ; but no sooner was it understood that his brethren repaired to him, than a charge was given to him and his colleague, Jonston, to quit Dundee instantly, under the pain of rebellion. Davidson complained of this next day in the assembly ; and another member * boldly asserted that the restriction laid on the university, and the interdiction now given, proceeded from the dread which the court had of Melville's learning. " I will not hear one word on that head," said his Majesty twice or thrice. " Then we must crave help of him that will hear us," replied Davidson †. The highest eulogium from the mouth of James could not have done half so much honour to Melville as his present treatment of him did. He had procured a parliamentary statute in favour of the measure which he wished to carry ; he knew that a great part of the elders stood pledged to support it by the vote which they had given in parliament ; he had the commissioners of the church at his beck ; and he had brought up a trained band of voters from the extremities of the north. And yet, with all these advantages on his side, he dreaded to bring forward his motion, or to submit it to discussion, as long as Melville remained in the house, or even within the

* This was John Knox, minister of Melrose, who was a son of William Knox minister of Cockpen, the brother of the Reformer.

† Melville's Diary, 329. Cald. v. 302—S. Woodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 73. MSS. vol. i. in Bibl. Coll. Glas.

precincts of the city, in which the assembly was held.

After a week spent in secret and public management, during which the complaints given in from different quarters against the commissioners were got buried, the main business was at last introduced by a speech from the throne. His Majesty dwelt on the important services which he had done for the church, by establishing her discipline, preserving her peace, and endeavouring to recover her patrimony, which would never be fully effected unless the measure which he was about to propose was adopted. He solemnly and repeatedly protested, (with what truth it is now unnecessary to say) that he had no intention to introduce either Popish or Anglican bishops, but that his sole object was that some of the best and wisest of the ministry, chosen by the General Assembly, should have a place in the privy council and parliament, to sit in judgment on their own affairs, and not to stand, as they had too long stood, at the door, like poor suppliants, disregarded and despised. Bruce, Davidson, Aird, James Melville, and John Carmichael were the chief speakers against the vote in parliament; Pont, Buchanan, and Gladstones, in support of it. The latter had a powerful auxiliary in the King, who was always ready to interfere in the debate. Gladstones having pleaded the power which the priests had among the ancient Romans "*in rogandis et ferendis legibus*," Davidson replied, that in Rome

the priests were consulted, but had no vote in making laws : “ *præsentibus sacerdotibus et divina exponentibus, sed non suffragia habentibus.* ” “ Where have ye that ? ” asked the King. “ In *Titus Livius*, ” said Davidson. “ Oh ! are you going then from the Scriptures to *Titus Livius* ? ” exclaimed his Majesty. There were flatterers present, who applauded this wretched witticism ; and they were encouraged to laugh at the old man, who pursued his argument with equal disregard of the puerilities of James, and the rudeness of his minions. The question being called for, it was decided by a majority of ten votes *, “ that it was necessary and expedient for the weal of the church, that the ministry, as the third state of this realm, should in the name of the church have a vote in parliament.” The measure was carried chiefly by the votes of the elders, and it was urged by the minority that a number of them had no commission ; but the demand of a scrutiny was resisted. Davidson, who had refused to take part in the vote, gave in a protest against this decision, and against all the proceedings of this and the two preceding assemblies, so far as they derogated from the rights of the church, upon the ground of their not being free assemblies, but overawed by the King, and restricted in their due and wonted privileges. His protest was refused,

* “ Mr Gilbert Body led the ring, a drunken Orkney ass, and the graittest number followit, all for the bodie but [without] respect of the sproit.” (Melville’s Diary, p. 329.)

and he was prosecuted for it before his presbytery at the King's instance *.

The assembly farther agreed that fifty-one ministers should be chosen to represent the church, according to the ancient number of the bishops, abbots, and priors; and that their election should belong partly to the King and partly to the church. The court presented a series of resolutions respecting the manner of electing the voters, the duration of their commission, their name, their revenues, and the restrictions necessary to prevent them from abusing their powers. But the proposal of them

* Spotswood, who embraces every opportunity of speaking disrespectfully of Davidson, has advanced a number of assertions respecting his conduct on the present occasion, all of which it would be easy to refute. Among others he says: "He himself, as his custom was when he made any such trouble, fled away, and lurked a while, till his peace was again made." (Hist. p. 452.) It is very easy for a time-serving priest, who, by his tame compliances, can always secure himself against falling into danger, to talk thus of a man, from whose rebuke he more than once shrunk, and to accuse him of cowardice merely because he fled from the lawless rage of a despot. But it is false that Davidson either fled or concealed himself at this time. On the 22d of March 1597, immediately after the rising of the General Assembly, Lord Tungland and David Macgill of Cranston Riddell appeared before the presbytery of Haddington, and gave in a complaint from the King against him. Being summoned to attend next meeting, Davidson appeared before the presbytery at Haddington, on the 29th of March. On the 5th of April, it was attested to the presbytery, that he was "stayit be ane heavie fever," and on the 12th of that month, "the presbyterie w^t consent of his Ma^{ies} commission continewit all farder dealing in this mater till y^e said Mr John at the please^r of God suld be restorit to his health." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington.)

excited so much dissatisfaction, that the King, dreading, from the feeling that began to be displayed, that he would lose the ground which he had already gained, deemed it prudent to put off the discussion. It was therefore appointed, that the presbyteries should immediately take the subject under consideration ; that they should report their opinions to their respective provincial synods ; and that each synod should nominate three delegates, who, along with the theological professors, should hold a conference, in the presence of his Majesty, on the points which the assembly had left undetermined. If they were unanimous, the resolutions to which they came were to be final : if not, the whole matter was to be referred to the next General Assembly *.

The resolutions in all the southern presbyteries and synods evinced the greatest jealousy of episcopacy, and a disposition to confine the powers of the voter in parliament within the narrowest possible bounds. Yet, matters were so craftily conducted by the agents of the court, in concert with such of the ministers as were secretly in their interest, that the delegates chosen for the conference were, in several instances, of opposite views to those of their constituents †. Perceiving this, disapproving of the whole scheme,

* *Buik of the Univ. Kirk*, ff. 188—192. *Cald.* v. 301—325. *Melville's Diary*, pp. 329, 330. *And his History of the Declining Age*, pp. 13—18. *Spotswood*, pp. 450—452.

† *Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh*, May 30. 1598. *Rec. of Provincial Synod of Lothian*, June 1598. *Melville's Diary*, pp. 390—1.

and convinced that no restrictions would prevent it from issuing in the establishment of episcopacy, there were individuals who thought it safest to stand aloof, and to take no part in the subordinate arrangements. Among these was James Melville. But his uncle was of a different mind. He was quite aware of the policy which permitted him to take part in private and extra-judicial conferences, while he remained excluded from the public assemblies, in which the points in debate were to be ultimately and authoritatively determined. But he deemed it of consequence to encourage his brethren by his presence, and to interpose every obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of a measure ruinous to the church. Accordingly, he gave faithful attendance on all the meetings of the conference *.

The result of the first meeting, held at Falkland, was so dissatisfactory to the King, that he prorogued the General Assembly which had been appointed to meet at Aberdeen in July 1599. Other meetings were held; but they were chiefly occupied in desultory conversation, or in attempts to lull asleep the most vigilant of the church's guardians by artful professions, and proposals for removing, what were called, unreasonable and unfounded jealousies †. Melville took a leading part in an interesting debate which occurred in November 1599, at a meeting of the brethren of the conference, and of the principal ministers

* Melville's Diary, p. 331.

† Cald. v. 371. Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, p. 19.

from the different quarters of the country, convened by royal missives in the palace of Holyroodhouse. The chief design of calling this meeting appears to have been, to ascertain the arguments which were to be used in opposition to the vote in parliament, that the court-party might be prepared to meet them in the next General Assembly. In opening the conference the King signified, that all were at liberty to reason both on the points which had been determined, and on those which had been left undecided, at last assembly; but that such as refused to state their objections at present should forfeit their right to bring them forward at a subsequent period. The lawfulness of ministers sitting in parliament came first under discussion. And here the debate turned chiefly on the question, Is it consistent with the nature of their office, its duties, and the directions of Scripture about it, for ministers of the gospel to undertake a civil function?

By those who maintained the affirmative it was argued, That, as the gospel does not destroy civil policy, so it does not hinder any of those who profess it from discharging political duties: That when ministers are enjoined "not to entangle themselves with the affairs of this life," they are not prohibited from discharging civil offices any more than the duties of natural economy and domestic life: That there are approved examples in Scripture of sacred and civil offices being united in the same person: That ministers were as much distracted from the duties of their office by the visitation of churches

and waiting on meetings for fixing stipends, as they would be by sitting in parliaments and conventions of estates: That it was allowed by all that ministers might wait on his Majesty and give him their advice in matters of state: That as free men and citizens, ministers were entitled to be represented as well as the other orders in the state: That the General Assembly had often craved a vote in parliament: And that ecclesiastical persons had sat in that court since the Reformation.

In the negative it was argued: That, though the gospel by no means destroys civil policy, yet all political laws which are inconsistent with it, or which interfere with any of its institutions, are unlawful: That the duties of natural and domestic economy are altogether different from those which belong to public offices in society: That when the apostle prohibits ministers from "entangling themselves with the affairs of this life," he puts his meaning out of doubt, by referring, as an illustration, to the case of a soldier, who must renounce and avoid all worldly occupations, that he may devote himself to the military life, and entirely please and obey his commander: That the duties of the ministerial office are so great and manifold, and the injunctions to constant and unremitting diligence in discharging them so numerous, so solemn, and so urgent, that no minister who is duly impressed with these will accept of another function which must engross much of his time and attention; and that it is criminal to throw temptations to this in his

way: That the union of sacred and civil offices in certain individuals mentioned in Scripture was extraordinary and typical; and when the Jewish polity was established, these offices were separated, and could not be lawfully discharged by the same persons: That the occasional visitation of churches is a part of the ministerial function: That if ministers are diverted from their pastoral duty by commissions for fixing stipends, this is owing to a defect in the establishment, which they had long complained of, and for which the magistrates and their flocks must answer: That ministers, as such, do not form an order in the state, and that as citizens they are represented along with others by the commissioners of shires and burghs: That if the King and estates entrust ministers with the care of their souls, the latter may surely give credit to the former in what relates to their bodies: That no General Assembly, before the last one, had ever craved a vote for ministers in parliament: And that, ever since the church had condemned episcopacy, she had objected to bishops and other persons called ecclesiastical, sitting in the supreme court of the nation.

On this part of the debate, Melville deduced the history of the gradual blending of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction under the papacy, by means of which the Roman Pontiff became at last so formidable, armed himself with the two swords, trampled on princes, and transferred crowns and kingdoms at his pleasure. “Take heed (said he, addressing

James) that you do not set up those who shall cast you or your successors down."

The second question which was brought forward related to the duration of the office. The court party were anxious that the clerical voter should hold his place *ad vitam aut culpam*: their opponents insisted that the place should be filled by annual election. The former argued, That no man would submit to the trouble and expence that must be incurred, if his continuance in office was precarious, or limited to a single year or a single parliament; and that within such a short period persons could neither acquire the knowledge of law, nor bring any business which the church might intrust to them to a termination. It was replied by the latter, that they were at present deliberating on what was for the good of the church and commonwealth, and not on what might be agreeable or profitable to individuals; that by continuing in the employment ministers would acquire more knowledge of the laws of men, but less of those of God, more acquaintance with the wiles of worldly policy, and less with the sincerity of the wisdom which is from above; and that the General Assembly was more capable of attending to the real interests of the church than a few men, who, if a judgment might be formed from experience, would be chiefly occupied in securing their own wealth and aggrandisement. The hurtful consequences of their continuing in office during life or good behaviour were insisted on at great length. It would secularize their minds; it would induce a habitual

neglect of the duties of their spiritual function ; it would, in spite of all caveats, gradually raise them to superiority over their brethren, and make them independent of church-courts ; although the church should depose them for improper conduct, yet if they happened to please his Majesty, he would maintain them in their place by his royal authority or by his influence in the General Assembly ; and being secured in their lordships and livings they would seek to revenge their quarrel, by doing injuries to the church or individuals of their brethren. — “ There is no fear,” said the King, “ but you will all prove true enough to your craft.” “ God make us all true enough to Christ,” replied Melville.—“ There is nothing so good but it may be suspected ; and thus you will be content with nothing.” “ We doubt the goodness of the thing, and have but too much reason to suspect its evil.”—“ His Majesty and the parliament will not admit the voters otherwise than for life ; and if you do not agree to this, you will lose the benefit.” “ The loss will be small.”—“ Ministers then will lie in contempt and poverty.” “ It was their Master’s case before them : better poverty with sincerity, than promotion with corruption.”—“ Others will be promoted to the place, who will oppress and ruin the church ; for his Majesty will not want his third estate.” “ Then let Christ, the King of the Church, avenge her wrongs ; as he has done before.”

The denomination of the voter in parliament formed the next topic of debate. Those who spoke the language of the court insisted that he should have

the name of *bishop*. If they agreed in the substance, they said, the name was of little consequence ; and as the parliament had restored the title of *bishop*, and might refuse to admit the representative of the church under any other designation, it would be a pity to lose a privilege which his Majesty had procured with such great pains and difficulty, through scrupulosity about a name which, after all, was scriptural. To this Melville replied ironically : “ No doubt the name *episcopos* or *bishop* is scriptural ; and why should it not be given ? But as something additional to the office of the scripture *bishop* is to be allotted to our new parliament-men, I would propose to eke a little to the name, and this shall be scriptural also. Let us baptize them by the name which the apostle Peter gives to such officers, and call them *alloiropiscopoi*, *busy-bishops*, who meddle with matters foreign to their calling.” In earnest he replied, that the word *bishop* was applied in the scriptures indiscriminately to all ministers of the gospel ; that in common speech it was now understood as the discriminative appellation of those who claimed a superiority of office and power, as in the churches of Rome and England ; that for good reasons the use of it had been laid aside and prohibited in the church of Scotland ; that those to whom it was now proposed to give it were to occupy the places to which ecclesiastical pre-eminence had been attached ; the title was calculated to feed their vanity and lust of power ; and being accustomed to be sa-

luted as lords at court and in parliament, they would soon begin to look sour on such as refused to give them their honorary titles in the church.

Night put an end to the debate. Next morning Lindsay, who acted as moderator, recapitulated what had been done on the preceding day in such a way as to insinuate smoothly that the heads which had been under consideration were settled. A murmur of disapprobation spread through the assembly ; and several members rising, declared that their scruples against the main proposal, so far from being weakened, were greatly strengthened by the discussion of yesterday. Melville made an earnest and solemn appeal to the moderator. He reminded him, that he was one of the oldest ministers of the church, and had been present at many assemblies in which these very points had been gravely and deliberately and accurately discussed, and afterwards clearly and unanimously decided. And asked him, how he could for a moment imagine that any one who was settled in his judgment could be moved to alter it by such a light conference as the present, in which Scripture might be said to have been profaned rather than gravely and reverently handled. His Majesty took offence at this last expression, and courteously gave the speaker the lie. Melville replied, that he had included himself in the censure, and did not mean to confine it to one side of the house. Finding that he would gain nothing, James broke off the conference in a fret. In dismissing the members, he said that he had been induced by the commissioners of

the church to call this meeting for the satisfaction of such as had scruples, in the hopes that matters would proceed more peaceably and harmoniously; but as he perceived men to be so full of their own conceits, and so pre-occupied in their judgments, as not to yield to reason, he would leave the matter to the ensuing General Assembly. If they received the favour offered them, he would ratify their conclusions with his civil sanction, and none should be allowed to speak against them: if they refused it, they would have themselves to blame for sinking still deeper and deeper into poverty. As for himself, he could not want one of his estates, but would exercise his own judgment in putting into the vacant place persons who would accept of it, and who would do their duty to him and to his kingdom *.

No such interest had been felt in any meeting of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory for many years, as was excited by the General Assembly which met at Montrose on the 28th of March 1600 †. All

* Melville's Diary, pp. 333—344. James Melville committed the reasonings at this conference to writing when his recollection of them was fresh. The whole of his account is copied into Calderwood's MS. and large extracts from it may be seen in the Printed Calderwood, pp. 428—434.

† Row mentions, that this assembly was "notified only by sound of trumpet att the crosse of Ed^r and other neidful places, wherreat many good Christians wondered att, seing y^r was never the lyke before." (Hist. p. 78.)—It was appointed at this time that the beginning of the year should henceforth be reckoned from the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March. (Record of Privy Council, Dec. 17. 1599.)

were convinced that upon its decision it depended whether the presbyterian constitution should stand, or should yield to the gradual encroachments of prelacy under the protection of royal supremacy. The attendance of members was full, and both parties entertained sanguine hopes of success. The defenders of the establishment confided in the goodness of their cause, and in the evident superiority in point of argument which they had maintained at the last conference. Their opponents were equally confident that they would prevail by address and the powerful interest of the crown.

Being chosen one of the representatives of the presbytery of St Andrews, Melville determined again to assert his right to a seat in the General Assembly. It was no sooner known that he had come to Montrose than he was sent for by the King. His Majesty asked him why he was so troublesome, by persisting to attend on assemblies after he had prohibited him. He replied, that he had a commission from the church, and that he behaved to discharge it under the pain of incurring the displeasure of one who was greater than any earthly monarch. Recourse was then had to menaces, but they served only to rouse Melville's spirit. On quitting the royal apartment, he put his hand to his throat, and said, "Sir, is it *this* you would have? Take this head and cut it off: you shall have it before I will betray the cause of Christ." He was not allowed to take his seat in the judicatory; but it was judged unadvisable to order him out of the town, as had been

done on a former occasion. He accordingly remained, and assisted his brethren with arguments and advice during the sitting of the assembly*.

The debate on the propriety of ministers voting in parliament was resumed; and a formidable train of arguments, including those which had been used in the conference at Holyroodhouse, was brought forward against the measure. In corroboration of these a paper was given in, consisting of extracts from the writings of reformed divines and of the fathers, with the decisions of the most ancient and renowned general councils. Unable to reply to these arguments, the advocates of the measure were forced to abandon the ground which they had taken up during the late conference. They granted the force of the general reasoning used by their opponents, but insisted that it was not applicable to the case. They affected now to condemn the union of sacred and civil offices; and pleaded that the ministers who were to sit in parliament would have no civil charge, but were merely to be present in that high court to watch over the interests of the church, and give their advice in matters of importance. When it was urged by their opponents that the ministerial writer must be employed in making laws for the whole kingdom, they took refuge under one of the worst of James's political maxims, that the king alone makes laws, and the estates merely give their

* Melville's Diary, p. 362, *Hist. of the Declining State of the Church*, pp. 24—5.

advice. In answer to the appeal made to the words of the act of parliament restoring the "office, estate, and dignity of bishops," they asserted that the objectionable language had been purposely introduced into the act by those who wished to keep the church in poverty, in the hopes that it would induce the ministers to reject the favour which his Majesty had procured for them. A stop was put to this dangerous discussion by an intimation from the King, that the determination of the last General Assembly must stand. Had it been allowed to put the general question to the vote, there is reason to think that the whole scheme would have been negatived. For on the question, whether the parliamentary voters should retain their place for life, or be annually elected, it carried, in spite of all the influence of the court, by a majority of three in favour of annual election. Yet, by collusion between the clerk and the King, the minute was so drawn up as to express a resolution materially adverse of that which had passed, and in this altered form an approbation of it was procured at the close of the assembly.

To induce the members to acquiesce in the unpopular measure, the court party agreed to the ratification of all the articles and caveats which had been proposed in the conference at Falkland, and which were intended to protect the liberties of the church, and guard against the introduction of episcopacy. They did not even object to the addition of others still more strict. As to the election of the Commiss-

tioners of the Church to Parliament (for by this name and not by that of Bishops were they to be designated) it was enacted, that the General Assembly, with the advice of synods and presbyteries, should nominate six individuals in each province, from which number his Majesty should chuse one as the ecclesiastical representative of that province. For his emoluments he was to be allowed the rents of the benefice to which he should be presented, after the churches, colleges, and schools had been provided for out of them. The following caveats were enacted to prevent him from abusing his power: That he should not presume to propose any thing to parliament, council, or convention, in the name of the church, without her express warrant and direction, nor consent to the passing of any act prejudicial to the church, under the pain of deposition from his office: That, at each General Assembly, he should give an account of the manner in which he has discharged his commission, and submit, without appeal, to the censure of the assembly, under the pain of infamy and excommunication: That he should rest satisfied with the part of the benefice, allotted to him, without encroaching upon what was assigned to the other ministers within his province: That he should not dilapidate his benefice, nor dispose of any part of its rents without the consent of the General Assembly: That he should perform all the duties of the pastoral office within his own particular congregation under the censure of the presbytery and provincial synod to which he

belongs: That in the exercise of discipline, the collation of benefices, the visitation of churches, and all other parts of ecclesiastical government, he should claim no more power or jurisdiction than what belonged to other ministers, under the pain of deprivation: That in meetings of presbytery and of other church courts, he should behave himself in all things, and be subject to censure, in the same manner as his brethren: That he should have no right to a seat in the General Assembly without a commission from his presbytery: That if deposed from the office of the ministry he should lose his vote in parliament, and his benefice should become vacant: And that he should incur the same loss upon being convicted of having solicited the office. It was ordained, that these caveats should be inserted, "as most necessary and substantial points," in the body of an act of parliament to be made for confirming the church's vote; and that every commissioner should subscribe and swear to observe them when he was admitted to his function*.

It is scarcely possible to conceive regulations better adapted to prevent the evil which was dreaded. But the strictest caveats, sanctioned by the most sacred promises, were feeble ties on an unprincipled court, and perfidious churchmen, who

* Boik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 193, 194. Cald. v. 414—440. Melville's Diary, pp. 349—362. Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 19—25. Forbes's History, pp. 23—26. Spotswood, 453, 457—8.

were ready to sacrifice both honour and conscience to the gratification of their avarice and ambition.

Mille adde catenas,
Effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.

An early proof of this was given. A meeting of delegates from synods, and of the commissioners of the General Assembly, was held in the month of October following, in consequence of a letter from the King desiring their advice about the ministers of Edinburgh, and "such other things as shall be thought good to be proposed in the name of the church for the weal of our and their estate at our first parliament." Dreading the opposition of James Melville and two other ministers, his Majesty got them appointed on a committee to transact some business, and during their absence summarily nominated David Lindsay, Peter Blackburn, and George Gladstones, to the vacant bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. This transaction was carefully concealed from the absent members until the meeting was dissolved. And the bishops appointed in this clandestine manner sat and voted in the ensuing parliament, in direct violation of the caveats to which they had so lately given their consent*.

* Their presentations were dated the 5th Nov. 1600. (Reg. of Present. to Benef. vol. iii. f. 80.) On the 3d Dec. 1600, David Lindsay, bishop of Ross, was admitted to be "ane of the counsail;" and on the 24th Nov. 1602, Mr George Gladstones, bishop of Caithness, was admitted, "be his Maiestie's direction and command." (Record of Privy Council.)

Archbishop Spotswood was under the necessity of inserting the caveats in his History, and he was forced to acknowledge, what was then notorious to all the world, that “it was neither the king’s intention, nor the mind of the wiser sort, to have these ~~creations~~ stand in force; but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the policy” (that is, the introduction of episcopacy) “made without any noise, the king gave way to these conceits *.” The archbishop calls the ministers who acted this part “the wiser sort;” forgetting, perhaps, that this species of wisdom, however much it may be “esteemed among men, is abomination with God.” They were suffered to triumph for a while in the success of their knavery; but he who “taketh the wise in their own craftiness,” visited them at length with merited retribution; and the violation of these very caveats, which had been ratified by the King, sworn to by the bishops †, and never repealed by any ecclesiastical authority, formed one of the chief grounds upon which the archbishop and his colleagues were afterwards deposed and excommunicated by the General Assembly ‡.

* Hist. p. 454.

† “It was layed to the charge of Mr John Spottiswood, appointed Bishop of Glasgow thereafter in Anno 1605, before his Maj. be the lord Balmerinoch, President, that he had sworn to observe the Caveats, and had obliged himself to subscrive them. Neither could his Maj. be well satisfied with him in that matter untill he had procured an Act of the Presbyterie of Glagow testifying that he had not subscryved them, whilk he presented to his Maj. for his defence; as though his oath had been nothing so long as he did not subscryve.” (Forbes’s History, p. 27.)

‡ Acts of the General Assembly, Anno 1638. Sess. 20.

His Majesty was present at all the assemblies in which this affair was discussed, and gave the most religious attendance on every session. He did not even miss a single meeting of the privy conference. During the sitting of the General Assembly, affairs of state were entirely neglected, and the court was converted into a clerical levee. The privy council-lors complained, that they could not have access to their master on account of the crowd of preachers which thronged his cabinet. In the public deliberations and debates he directed and decided every thing in his double capacity of disputant and umpire. Those who wish to perceive the glory of James's reign must carefully attend to this part of its history. It was at this time that he found a stage on which he could exert his distinguishing talent, and "stick the doctor's chair into the throne." It was at this time that he acquired that skill in points of divinity, and in the management of ecclesiastical meetings, which afterwards filled the English bishops with both "admiration and shame," and made them cry out that they verily thought he was "inspired." Never did this wise monarch appear to such great advantage, as when, surrounded with "his own northern men," he canvassed for votes with all the ardour and address of a candidate for a borough; or when, presiding in the debates of the General Assembly, he kept the members to the question, regaled them with royal wit, calling one "a seditious knave," and another "a liar," saying to one speaker "that's witch-like," and to another

"that's anabaptistical," instructed the clerk in the true geographical mode of calling the roll, or taking him home to his closet, helped him to correct the minutes*.

During these transactions several occurrences of a subordinate kind took place, to which it may be proper to advert. The church suffered a severe loss by the death of a number of her distinguished ministers. The end of the year 1598 proved fatal to David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, whose integrity, united with an uncommon vein of good-humoured wit, made him a favourite with all classes †. Thomas Buchanan, provost of Kirkheuch,

* Cald. v. 320, 399, 571. At the General Assembly in May 1597, an ordinance was made, (says James Melville) "that at the penning of everie act ther shoulde be certeane brether w^t the clark, whereof I was an and Air James Nicolsone an uther. But whill as I cam till attend, thay war commandit to com to the king with the minutes; and sa I gat na acces." (Diary, 312.) James Melville (ib. p. 362.) subjoins the following verse, probably from an old poem, to his account of the proceedings at this time :

The Dron, the Doungeoun and the Draught
Did mak their cannon of the King :
Syn fairfully with ws they faught,
And doon to dirt they did ws ding.

† He died at "the age of 65." (Spotswood, p. 455.) John Jenston fixes his death on the 23d of August 1598. (Life of Knox, ii. 445.) To his works mentioned in the Life of Knox (vol. ii. Note E.) may be added the following: "An Answer to an Epistle written by Renat Benedict, the French Doctor Professor of Gods word (as the Translator of the Epistle calleth

and minister of Ceres, died suddenly in the course of the following year, lamented by those who knew his worth and talents, though they disapproved of his public conduct during the two last years of his life *. But the death most deeply deplored was that of Robert Rollock, principal of the University of Edinburgh, who was prematurely cut off in the prime of life and in the midst of extensive usefulness. His piety, his suavity of temper, his benevolence, and his talents as a writer and teacher of youth were univer-

him) to John Knox & the rest of his brethren ministers of the word of God made by David Fergusone minister of the same word at this present in Dunfermling—Imprinted at Edinbrough by Robert Lekprevik 1563." Black letter 12mo. 43 leaves. The running title is: "Ane answer to Renat Be. Epistle." In reply to the accusation that the object of the reforming ministers was to "get and gather riches," Ferguson says: "the greatest nomber of vs haue liued in great penurie, without all stipend. some twelf moneth, some eight, and some half a year, hauing nothing in the mean time to susteane our selues and our families, but that which we haue borrowed of charitable persones vntil God send it to vs to repay them." fol. 6, 7. This was written "the 26th April 1562." The translation of Renat's Epistle was by Winzet, and at that time, probably, was only in MS.

* Melville's Diary, p. 328. Spotswood (Hist. p. 455.) fixes his death, incorrectly, in the year 1598.—"1599. Apr. 12. M. Thomas Buchquhanan diet. (The Laird of Carmbee's Diary. Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 383.) On the 5th of May 1599, "Euphame Hay relict of umq^{ic} Mr Thomas Buchquhannane" revoked a deed which she had made during her husband's sickness, and in which she had renounced the "conjunct use of sikk lands or annual rents as belangit to him." On the 20th June, "Jo. Buchquhanan & Mr Ro^t Buchquhannan, provost of Kirkheuch," appeared as executors of his testament. (Book of Acts of the Commissarist of St Andrews.)

sally admired by his countrymen ; and those who were offended at some parts of his conduct traced them to his guileless simplicity and constitutional aversion to every thing that wore the appearance of strife or might lead to confusion *. About the same time the country was deprived of one of its ablest statesmen, John Lindsay of Balcarras, " for natural judgement and learning the greatest light of the policy and council of Scotland †."

In the beginning of the year 1600 the zealous and upright John Dury, minister of Montrose, died in a manner becoming the life which he had spent. Having held an interview with the magistrates of the town and the elders of his session, and left advices to be imparted to the King and ministers at the ap-

* Spotswood, 455. Melville's Diary, 320. He had completed the 43d year of his age when he died, " 6 Idus Febr. anno 1598." (1598.) *Vite & mortis Roberti Rolloci Scotti narratio. Scripta per Georgium Robertsonum. Edinburgi 1598.* (1598.) C in eights. Among the Epitaphs published by Robertson there is none by Melville, but an elegy by him is prefixed to a life of Rollok written in Latin by Henry Charteris, who succeeded him as Principal. (MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin.)

† Melville's Diary, 328. Lindsay died Sept. 3. 1598. (Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 285.) He was Secretary of State, and for several years before his death, Chancellor of the University of St Andrews. Melville addressed a playful poem to him, in the form of a petition from the university. (Delitiae Poet. Scot. ii. 121.) I have an original letter from Melville, " To my verie guid Lord my lord Secretar L. Chanceler of the Universitie of Sanctandrois." It has no date, but appears to have been written some years before Lindsay's death. Among other things, it contains observations on the best remedies for the stone, the disease which proved fatal to his lordship.

proaching General Assembly, he inquired about the day of the month, and being told that it was the last of February, "O! then, (exclaimed he) the last day of my wretched pilgrimage! and the Morrow the first of my rest and glory!" And, laying his head on his eldest son's breast, placidly expired. Melville, who entertained a high esteem of Dury's honesty and goodness of heart, honoured the memory of his friend by his verses *. In the end of the same year, the celebrated John Craig, who had been for a considerable time incapacitated for any public service, terminated his days at the advanced age of eighty-eight †.

The eager desire which James felt to secure his

* One of his epitaphs on him is printed (Melvini Musæ, p. 11.): others are preserved in MS. (Melville's Diary, pp. 345—347.) The account which James Melville has given of his father-in-law's dying advice to the ministers, (Diary 344—5.) is completely at variance with that of Spotswood. (History 458.)

† Spotswood, 462, 464. In May 1594, the King caused it to be intimated to the General Assembly that "Mr Jo^h Crag is awaiting w^t boure it sall please God to call him and is altogether vnable to serve any longer." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 176, a.) I do not know whether the work referred to in the following minute of Assembly, (August 12. 1590,) was published: "Ordaines ye brether of the pbrie of Ed^r to peruse ye sanc^t scott out be Mr Craig against a pernicious wrytting put out against ye confessioun of faith, together with ye preface made be Mr Jo^h davidsone, and if they find meitt ye samon be published y^t they may be committit to prent." (Ibid. f. 161.) On the "penalt Maij" 1592, Craig's Catechism, "q^{lk} now is allowit and imprintit," was ordained to be "read in families," and "red and leirnit in lecture schooles in place of the litle cateschisme." (Ibid. f. 163, b.)

accession to the English throne induced him to adopt measures to conciliate the Roman Catholics which gave much offence to his subjects. He sent a secret embassy to the court of Rome. The odium of the letter addressed in his name to the pope, was afterwards thrown on his secretary; but there is too much ground for suspecting that James acted the same part to Lord Balmerino in this affair, which Elizabeth did to Secretary Davidson respecting the execution of Queen Mary*. With the view of gratifying his Holiness and procuring his support to the King's right, a project was set on foot to grant a toleration to the papists in Scotland †. And archbishop Beaton was not only appointed ambassador at the court of France, but also restored to the temporalities of the See of Glasgow ‡. These steps, though taken with great

* Printed Cald. pp. 426, 7, 604. *Ambassades de M. de la Boderie*, tom iv. p. 66.

† Cald. v. 548. It would seem that James had a work on this subject ready for the press. "The king at this time (June 1601,) promised to Mr John Hall, that the book called a declaration of the King's minde toward the catholicks shoulde never be sett furth." (Ibid. p. 591.)

‡ The act of convention, penult. Junij 1598, was ratified by parliament in 1600. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 169, 256.) Keith says, that, in 1588, the king did, by act of Parliament, "restore the old exauctorate and forfeited bishop Beaton to the temporality of the see of Glasgow, which he did enjoy until his death on the — April 1603." (Scottish Bishops, p. 156.) This is a mistake. It is true, that Beaton was not excepted from the benefit of the act of parliament 1587, rescinding all forfeitures since 1561. But this "restitutiooun remainit not lang effectuall in his person, be reasone he failzeit in geving the confessioun of his faith and

secrecy and caution, did not escape the vigilance of the ministers *.

The literary works which James produced at this time contributed to strengthen the opposition made to the measures of his administration. In 1598 he published his *True Law of Free Monarchies*. We must not imagine that by a "free monarchy" was meant any thing like what the expression suggests to us. It meant a government exercised by a monarch who is free from all restraint or control, or, as the author fitly designates him, "a free and absolute monarch." The treatise is, in fact, an unvarnished vindication of arbitrary power in the prince, and of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the people, without any exception or reservation whatever. The royal politician graciously allows, that princes owe a duty to their subjects, but he thinks it "not needing to be long" in the declaration of it. He grants, that a king should consider himself as ordained for the good of his people; but then, if he shall think and act otherwise, and chuse, as too many kings have chosen, to run the risk of divine punishment, the people

acknowlegeing of "souerane lordis auctie, as was ordanit be ye said restitutioun." (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 624.) When James was threatening to revenge his mother's death, he proposed to make Beaton his ambassador. (Courcelles' Dispatches, March 8, and 14, 1587.)

* The presbytery of Edinburgh applied for a copy of the act respecting Beaton; but were referred from the clerk of council to the clerk of register, and from the latter to Mr Alexander Hay. (Record of Presb. Julij. 4, 11, and 18, 1598.)

are not permitted to "make any resistance but by flight," as we may see by "the example of brute beasts and unreasonable creatures," among whom "we never read or heard of any resistance" to their parents, "except among the vipers." A free monarch can make statutes as he thinks meet without asking the advice of parliaments or states, and can suspend parliamentary laws for reasons known to himself only. "A good king will frame all his actions according to the law, yet is he not bound thereto but of his good will: although he be above the law, he will subject and frame his actions thereto for example's sake to his subjects, and of his own free will, but not as subject or bound thereto." In confirmation of this doctrine James appeals to Samuel's description of a king, and quotes and expounds, with the utmost satisfaction, the account which that prophet gave the Israelites of the oppressions which they would suffer under a form of government on which they fondly doated.

Such was "the true pattern of divinity" which James found himself constrained in duty to publish, for the correction of "our so long disordered commonwealth," and for the instruction of his intended subjects in that which it was most necessary for them to know, "next to the knowledge of their God." He at least dealt honestly with the people of England, who had already begun to worship the rising sun; and in welcoming him so cordially and unconditionally, after he had plainly told them that they were to be governed as a conquered king-

dom, they might fairly be considered as addressing him in the language which he puts into the mouths of the Hebrews : “ All your speeches and hard conditions will not skarre us, but we will take the good and evil of it upon us ; and we will be content to beare whatsoever burden it shall please our king to lay upon us, as well as other nations do.” If they were disappointed of the benefit which they expected to “ get of him in fighting their battles,” they had themselves to blame, as he never gave large promises on that head. But he performed for them services of a more valuable kind as “ the great schoolmaster of the whole land,” according to his own description of his office. He taught them a “ style utterly unknown to the ancients ;” banished the writings of Calvin, Buchanan, Ponet, and suchlike “ apologies for rebellions and treasons,” which had obtained too great authority among them * ; and furnished orthodox text-books, from which the orators of “ Cam and Isis” might “ preach the right divine of kings to govern wrong †,”

The presbyterians of Scotland could not conceal

* King James’s Works, pp. 204—5.

† “ Mr George Herbert, being Prelector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridge anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which he analysed, shewed the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move the affections, the style utterly unknown to the ancients, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence was, in respect of which these noted demagogi were but hirelings and triobolary rhetoricians.” (Hacket’s Life of Archbishop Willianus, Part I. p. 175.)

their disapprobation of the political principles of the Law of Free Monarchies*, This was one reason of their being treated with such severity in the celebrated *Basilicon Doron*, or, Instructions of the King to his son Prince Henry, which came to light in the course of the following year. Fond of seeing this work in print, and yet conscious that it would give great offence, James was anxious to keep it from the knowledge of his native subjects until circumstances should enable him to publish it with safety. With this view "the printer being first sworn to secrecy," says he, "I only permitted seven of them to be printed, and these seven I dispersed among some of my trustiest servants to be kept closely by them †." Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, one of the courtiers, shewed his copy to Melville, with whom he was on a footing of intimacy. Having extracted some of the principal propositions in the work, Melville sent them to his nephew, whose colleague, John Dykes, laid them before the provincial synod of Fife. The synod judged them to be of the most pernicious tendency, and not believing, or affecting not to believe, that they could proceed from the high authority to which they were attributed, sent them to his Majesty. An order was immediately issued for the apprehension of Dykes, who absconded ‡. The propositions laid before the synod were the following: That the

* Cald. v. 365.

† See Note I.

‡ Melville's Diary, 831. Cald. 337—8. Spotswood, 457.

office of a king is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical: that a principal part of his function consists in ruling the church: that it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text, and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such cases deserve to be capitally punished: that no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent: that no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan: that parity among ministers is irreconcileable with monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion: that puritans had been a pest to the commonwealth and church of Scotland, wished to engross the civil government as tribunes of the people, sought the introduction of democracy into the state, and quarrelled with the king because he was a king: that the chief persons among them should not be allowed to remain in the land: in fine, that parity in the church should be banished, episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops rigorously punished. Such were the sentiments which James entertained, and which he had printed, at the very time that he was giving out that he had no intention of altering the government of the church, or of introducing episcopacy. It is easy to conceive what effect this discovery must have produced on the minds of the presbyterian ministers. And were it not that we know that a sense of shame has but a feeble influence on princes and statesmen, and that they never want apologists for their worst actions, it would be confounding to think that either the

king or his agents should have been so base-faced as after this to repeat their protestations.

James afterwards published an edition of the *Duron*, accompanied with an apologetical preface. His apology, as might be expected, is extremely awkward and unsatisfactory. Too timid to avow his real meaning, and too obstinate to retract what he had advanced, he has recourse to equivocation, and to explanations glaringly at variance with the text. The opprobrious name of *parizzas*, he allows, was properly applicable only to those called the *Family of Love*, who arrogated to themselves an exclusive and sinless parity. To gain credit to his assertion that he alluded chiefly to such persons, he alleges that Brown, Penry, and other Englishmen, had, when in Scotland, "zown their popple," and that certain "brainsick and heady preachers" had imbibed their spirit; although he could not but know that these rigid sectaries were unanimously opposed by the Scottish ministers, and that the only countenance which they received was from himself and his courtiers *. The following acknowledgement deserves particular notice, both as it ascertains an important fact, and as it enables us to judge of the policy of the course which James was at present pursuing. Speaking of the ministers, he says: "There is presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdome; and yet are they ALL known to be against the form of the English

* See before vol. i. pp. 325—6.

Church." And again, speaking of the charge of puritanism, he says: " I protest upon mine honour that I mean it not generally of all preachers, or others, that like better of the single form of policy in our church than of the many ceremonies of the church of England, that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy, that the surplice, cornered cap, and such like, are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things (which for my own part I ever esteemed indifferent) as I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions. It can no ways become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence in so old a controversy. We all (God be praised) do agree in the grounds, and the bitterness of men upon such questions doth but trouble the peace of the church, and gives advantage and entry to the papists by our division *." Such is the language of one who spent a great part of his life in agitating these very questions, who was at that time employed in imposing these very forms

* *Basilicon Doron*, *To the Reader*, A 5, 6. Lond 1603. King James's Works, p. 144. What truth there was in all this, James has himself told us in another of his writings: " That Bishops ought to be in the church, I ever maintained as an Apostolike institution, and so the ordinance of God ;—so was I ever an enemie to the confused anarchie or parity of the puritans, as well appeareth in my *Basilicon Doron*.—I that in my said book to my son do speak tenn times more bitterly of them (the puritans) nor of papists—I that for the space of six years before my coming into England laboured nothing so much as to depresso their paritie, and re-erect Bishops againe." (Premonition to the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, pp. 44—5.)

upon a church, which, according to his own acknowledgement, was decidedly and unanimously averse to them, and who, in this very publication, lays injunctions on his son to prosecute the scheme after his death !

It has been said, that this work contributed more to smooth his accession than all the books written in defence of his title to the English crown. But the facts respecting its publication do not accord with this theory *. Though an impartial examination of its contents will not justify the high encomiums passed upon it †, yet its literary merits are not contemptible. It is in a great measure free from that disgusting pedantry which is so conspicuous in the other writings of James, and it contains many good advices, mingled with not a few silly prejudices.

A careful comparison of the *Law of Free Monarchies* and the *Basilicon Doron* throws no small light on the history of the time. It points out the true ground of the strong antipathies which James felt to the presbyterian ministers, and ascertains the proper meaning of his favourite ecclesiastico-political aphorism, *No Bishop, no King*.

The affair of the Gowrie Conspiracy, which occurred in the first year of the seventeenth century, proved injurious to the church, as well as vexatious to individual ministers. For not giving thanks for his Majesty's deliverance in the very words which

* See Note I.

† Bishop of Winton's Preface to King James's Works, sig. d. Spotswood, p. 475. Walton's Lives by Zouch, p. 296.

the court dictated on the first intimation of the occurrence, the ministers of Edinburgh were called before the privy council*; and having acknowledged, in answer to the inquisitorial demands put to them, that they were not completely convinced of the treason of Gowrie, although they revered the King's narrative, five of them were removed from the capital, and prohibited from preaching in Scotland. Four of these soon after submitted, and each was enjoined to profess his belief of the conspiracy, and his sorrow for his error and incredulity, in several churches, according to the penance imposed upon persons who were chargeable with the most heinous offences†. Bruce alone refused, and was banished ‡. Being subsequently recalled from France, he signified that his doubts were in a great measure re-

* Spotswood says that the council told the ministers, when they were first sent for, " that they were only to signify how the king had escaped a great danger, and to stir up the people to thanksgiving;" but " by no persuasion they could be moved to perform that duty." (Hist. p. 461.) According to every other statement, they declared their readiness to do this, and merely declined to testify that his Majesty had been delivered " from a vile treason."

† James Balfour was appointed to make his confession within the towns of Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, and Brechin. (Record of Privy Council, Sept. 11. 1600.)

‡ Record of Privy Council, August 12, 31. Sept. 10, 11, 1600. Cald. v. 475, 492—5, 527—542. The minute of Council bears, that Bruce " still continuall doubtfull and necht throwghlie resolut of the treasonbill and unnatural conspiracie;" and that " it can nawyse stand with his hienes suirtie and honour that ony sic distrustfull personis schbe sufferit to remane within the cuntry."

moved, but still refused to give a public profession of his faith in the words of the court, or to make the humiliating submission which it enjoined. As a subject, he said, he had never refused to do the duty of a subject; but to utter in the pulpit, under the authority of his office, any thing of which he was not fully persuaded, he was not at liberty. "I have a body and some goods, (continued he) let his Majesty use them as God shall direct him. But as to my inward peace, I would pray his Majesty in all humility to suffer me to keep it. Place me where God placed me, and I shall teach as fruitful and wholesome doctrine to the honour of the magistrate as God shall give me grace. But to go through the country, and make proclamations here and there, will be counted either a beastly fear or a beastly flattery; and in so doing I should raise greater doubts, and do more harm than good to the cause; for people look not to words but grounds. And as for myself, I should be but a partial and sparing blazer of my own infirmities: others will be far better heralds of my ignominy *."

The truth is, that from the moment that Bruce was removed from Edinburgh, it was determined that he should never be allowed to return. He was tantalized for years with the hopes of being restored to his place. The terms proposed to him were either such as it was known he would reject, or they were evaded and withdrawn when he was ready to accede to them. And he was afterwards persecuted till his

* Cald. v. 599, 600. Crawfurd, i. 242,

death by the mean jealousy of the bishops, who set spies on his conduct, sent informations to court against him, and procured orders to change the place of his confinement from time to time, and to drag him from one corner of the kingdom to another. The whole treatment which this independent minister received was very disgraceful to the government. Granting that he gave way to scrupulosity—granting that he required a degree of evidence as to the guilt of Gowrie, which was not necessary to justify the part which he was required to take in announcing it—and even granting that there was a mixture of pride in his motives, and that he stood too much on the point of honour, (concessions that many will not be disposed to make)—still the nice and high sense of integrity which he uniformly displayed, his great talents, and the eminent services which he had performed to church and state, not to speak of his birth and connections, ought to have secured him very different treatment. But the court hated him for his fidelity, and dreaded his influence in counteracting its favourite plans. There was another consideration which rendered his pardon hopeless. James was conscious that he had deeply injured Bruce *. There is one proof of this which I shall state, as it affords a striking illustration of the .

* “*Chi offende non pardona ; et si jamais Prince a été de cette humeur, celui-ci est l'est,*” says the French ambassador, in representing the hopelessness of an application to James in behalf of the son of the Earl of Gowrie. (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom iii. 108.)

deplorable state in which the administration of justice was at that time in the nation.

Bruce, when in favour with the court, had obtained a gift for life out of the lands of the abbey of Arbroath, which he had enjoyed for a number of years *. In the year 1598, the king privately disposed of this to Lord Hamilton. He first stirred up the tenants of the abbey to resist payment †, and when this expedient failed, he avowed the deed by which he had alienated the annuity. Bruce signified his willingness to yield up the gift, provided the King retained it in his own hands or applied it to the use of the church ; but learning that it was to be bestowed on Lord Hamilton, he resolved to defend his right. His Majesty called down some of the Lords of Session to the palace, and sent his ring to others, and by threats and persuasions endeavoured to induce them to give a decision in favour of the crown. Their lordships, however,

* The grant itself, which passed the seals on the 15th of October 1589, speaks in the highest terms of the services which Bruce had done to the King, and to the whole church, ‘*be informing of his Matie and counsell of sic thingis as concerns the weill therof and advancing and furtheetting the same baith in counsell and sessioun.*’ (Register of Privy Seal, vol. ix. fol. 68.) The money and victual contained in the gift are regularly entered as his stipend in the Books of *Assignation* and *Modification*. One chalder of wheat and one of bear were given from it, with Bruce’s express consent, to his colleague, Balcanquhal. (Book of *Assignation* for the year 1591.)

† Register of Decrees and Acts of the Commissariot of St Andrews, Aug. 21. 1598, compared with Nov. 6. 1595.

found Bruce's title to be valid and complete *. On this occasion James exhibited all the violence of an imbecile and ungoverned mind. Being in court when the cause was heard, and perceiving that it was likely to be decided contrary to his wishes, he stormed, and asked the judges how they durst give an opinion against him. Several of the lords rose, and said, that, with all reverence to his Majesty, unless he removed them from their office, they both durst and would deliver their sentiments according to justice ; and, with the exception of one judge, the whole bench voted against the party who had the royal support. James threatened the advocates who pleaded for Bruce †. He spoke of him on all occasions with the utmost asperity ; charging him with stealing the hearts of his subjects, and saying, that, were it not for shame, he would " throw a whinger in his face." Determined to obtain his object, he " wakened the process," by means of two ministers in Angus to whom he transferred a part of the annuity. At a private interview, in the presence of Sir George Elphingston, Bruce, at the desire of his Majesty, who requested him to " save his honour and he would not hurt him," agreed to a mode of settling the dispute which was sanctioned by the Lords of Session. But the King afterwards set

* Action : Gilbert Auchterlonie in Bonitoun &c. against Lord Hamilton and Mr Robert Bruce ; June 16. 1599. (Register of Acts and Decrets of the Court of Session, vol. 183. fol. 198.)

† Bruce's counsel were Thomas Craig, John Russel, and James Donaldson.

aside this decree by his sole authority, altered the minute of the court, and threatened to hang the clerk if he gave an extract of it in its original and authentic form. Bruce was thus deprived of the greater part of his annuity, and the remainder was given him only during the royal pleasure; upon which he threw up his gift in disdain *.

The eagerness which James shewed to have the conspiracy of Gowrie believed, increased instead of removing the public incredulity. He issued a mandate to change the weekly sermon in all towns to Tuesday, the day on which the event happened †. Not contented with the observance of a national thanksgiving on the occasion, he procured an act of parliament, ordaining, that the fifth day of August should be kept yearly "in all times and ages to come," by all his subjects, as a "perpetual monument of their most humble, hearty, and unfeigned thanks to God" for his "miraculous and extraordinary deliverance from the horrible and detestable murder and parricide attempted against his Majesty's most noble person ‡." This appointment was offensive on different grounds. It was an assumption, on the part of the parliament, of the right of the church-courts to judge in what related to the worship of God. It was at variance with the principles of the

* Cald. v. 363—367, 408—413.

† Record of Privy Council, Aug. 21. 1600. Record of the Kirk Session of St Andrews, Aug. 24. Extracts from Rec. of Kirk Session of Glasgow, Sept. 25. 1600.

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 213—4.

church of Scotland, which, ever since the Reformation, had condemned and laid aside the observance of religious anniversaries, and of all recurring holidays, with the exception of the weekly rest. The appointment in question was liable to peculiar objections, as doubts were very generally entertained of the reality of the conspiracy to which it related; on which account ministers and people were annually forced either to offer mock thanksgivings to the Almighty or to incur the resentment of the government. On this last ground, the English, accustomed as they were to submit to such encroachments on their natural and religious liberty, murmured at the introduction of this new holiday*. Yet such influence had the King now obtained over the church-courts, that the General Assembly, held at Holyroodhouse in the year 1602, gave its sanction to the appointment; and thus exposed the church of Scotland to just reproach from her adversaries, as agreeing to keep an annual festival in commemoration of the deliverance of an earthly

* “ Amongst a number of other novelties, he (James) brought a new holy-day into the church of England, wherein God had public thanks given him for his Majesties deliverance out of the hands of Earle Gourie: and this fell out upon the fifth of August, on which many lies were told either at home or abroad, in the quire of St Pauls church or the Long Walk: For no Scotch man you would meet beyond sea but did laugh at it, and the peri-patetique politicians said the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit.” (Osborne’s Hist. Memoirs: Secret History of the Court of James the First, vol. i. p. 276.) “ The English (says Sir Anthony Welldon) believe as little the truth of that story as the Scots themselves did.” (Ibid. p. 220.)

prince, while she refused this honour to the birth and death of her divine Saviour, and to the most important events in the history of Christianity *.

James Melville was one of those who refused to obey this act of parliament and assembly. He had concurred with the commissioners of the church and the synod of Fife in appointing a public thanksgiving immediately after the conspiracy †. But he refused to keep the anniversary. The King summoned him and several of his brethren to answer for their disobedience, and threatened to proceed against them capitally if they declined the privy council; but having ascertained that they were prepared to run all hazards, he satisfied himself with giving them a royal admonition in the presence of the commissioners of the General Assembly. It does not appear that the ministers were afterwards put to trouble on this head ‡.

It would seem that Melville was permitted to sit in the General Assembly which met at Burnt-island in May 1601 §. It was on this occasion

* Bijk of Univ. Kirk, f. 204, b.

† Melville's Diary, p. 363. "At that tyme, (the end of August 1600,) being in Falkland, I saw a fuscambulus frenchman play strang and incredible praticks upon stented takell in the palace clos, befor the king, quein and baill court. *This was politicklie done to mitigat the Quein and people for Gowries shuzter.* Even then was Hendersone tryed befor ws, and Gowries pedagog wha haid bein buted." (Ibid.)

‡ Record of Privy Council, Aug. 12. 1602. Cald. vi. 617.

§ Calderwood (v. 570.) mentions him as voting in the privy conference against the translation of the ministers of Edinburgh.

that the King publicly renewed his vows as a covenanter. His embassy to the court of Rome had not been well received, and the Roman Catholics in England had shewn themselves unfavourable to his right of succession to the crown. At home he had incurred great odium by the slaughter of the Earl of Gowrie, as to whose guilt the body of the people were invincibly incredulous. After the assembly had been occupied for a considerable time in deliberation on the "causes of the general defections from the purity, zeal, and practice of the true religion in all estates of the country, and how the same may be most effectually remedied," his Majesty rose and addressed them with great appearance of sincerity and pious feeling. He confessed his offences and mismanagements in the government of the kingdom; and, lifting up his hand, he vowed, in the presence of God and of the assembly, that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, defend it against its adversaries, minister justice faithfully to his subjects, discountenance those who attempted to hinder him in this good work, reform whatever was amiss in his person or family, and perform all the duties of a good and Christian King better than he had hitherto performed them. At his request the members of assembly gave a similar pledge for the faithful discharge of their duty; and it was ordained that this mutual vow should be intimated from the pulpits on the following Sabbath, to convince the people of

his Majesty's good dispositions, and of the cordiality which subsisted between him and the church *.

It was at this assembly that a motion was made to revise the common translation of the Bible, and the metrical version of the Psalms. The former of these was the only piece of reform which James exerted himself in effecting after his accession to the English throne. On the present occasion, we are told, he made a long speech, in the course of which he dwelt on the honour which such a work would reflect on the church of Scotland. "He did mention sundry escapes in the common translation, and made it seem that he was no less conversant in the Scriptures than they whose profession it was; and when he came to speak of the Psalms, did recite whole verses of the same, shewing both the faults of the metre and the discrepancy from the text. It was the joy of all that were present to hear it, and bred not little admiration in the whole assembly †." But ravished as they were, and proud as they might be, of having for a king so great a divine and linguist and poet, the assembly did not think it fit to gratify his Majesty by naming him on the committee; but recommended the translation of the Bible to such of their own number as were best acquainted with the original languages, and the correction of the Psalmody to Pont ‡. This did not, however,

* Cald. v. 577, 578. Melville's Diary, p. 366. Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 25, 26. Row's Hist. p. 62.

† Spotswood, 468.

‡ Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 197, b.

prevent James from employing his poetical talents on a new version of the Psalms, intended to be sung in churches. If he had given encouragement to the ministers to prosecute such works as these, instead of irritating them, and embarrassing himself, by the agitation of questions respecting forms of ecclesiastical government, James would have acted like a wise prince. He would have gained their esteem, diverted them from those political discussions of which he was so jealous, and essentially promoted the interests of religion and letters in his native kingdom.

There were other undertakings of great importance from which they were distracted by the preposterous and baleful policy of the court. Among these was the introduction of the means of knowledge into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In the year 1597, the General Assembly appointed some of their number to visit the North Highlands. In passing through the shires of Inverness, Ross, and Murray, the visitors found an unexpected avidity for religious instruction in the people, and great readiness on the part of the principal proprietors to make provision for it. The chief of the clan Mackintosh subscribed obligations for the payment of stipends in the different parishes on his estate; and observing that the visitors were surprised at his alacrity, he said to them; "Ye may think me liberal, because no minister will venture to come among us. But get me the men, and I will find sufficient caution for safety of their persons, obedience to their

doctrine and discipline, and good payment of their stipend, either in St Johnston, Dundee, or Aberdeen." "Indeed, (says James Melville, who was one of the visitors) I have ever since regretted the estate of our Highlands, and am sure if Christ were preached among them, they would shame many Lowland professors. And if pains were taken but as willingly by prince and pasters to plant their kirks as there is for wracking and displanting the best constituted, Christ might be preached and believed both in Highlands and Borders *."—About the same time a scheme was planned for civilizing the inhabitants of the Western Isles, who were in a state of complete barbarism, and scarcely owned even a nominal subjection to the crown. A number of private gentlemen, chiefly belonging to Fife, undertook to plant a colony in Lewis, and the adjacent places, which formed the lordship of the Isles. They obtained a charter, confirmed by parliament, which conferred on them various privileges, and among other things authorized them to erect ten parish churches, which were to be endowed from the revenues of the bishopric of the Isles †. The presbytery of St Andrews took a warm interest in this undertaking; and at their appointment, Robert Dury, minister of Anstruther, sailed to Lewis in the year 1601, to assist the gentlemen of the society in the plantation of their churches ‡.

* Melville's Diary, p. 325.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 248—250. Spots. p. 468.

‡ Record of Kirk Session of Anstruther Wester, April 30. 1601.

The next time we hear of Dury, he is a prisoner in Blackness, for holding a meeting of the General Assembly*.

While James remained in Scotland, the scheme of introducing episcopacy, though never lost sight of, was cautiously prosecuted. After the dissolution of the Assembly held at Bruntisland, the commissioners of the church addressed a circular letter to the ministers, intimating, that the Spanish monarch had hostile intentions against Britain, and requesting them to impress their people with a sense of their danger, and to assure them that his Majesty was resolved to hazard his life and crown in the defence of the gospel†. Melville wrote upon his copy of the letter, *Hannibal ad portas!* He was convinced that the fears of the commissioners

* Among the means used for the reformation of the Highlands, it is proper to mention the translation of Knox's Liturgy, as it is called, into Gaelic, by John Carswell, Superintendent of the West, and Bishop of the Isles. It was entitled "FOIRM NA NURNUIDHEADH," i. e. *Forms of Prayer*; and was printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevick, 24th April 1567. An account of this very curious and rare work, and interesting extracts from it, accompanied with an English translation, may be seen in Leyden's notes to Descriptive Poems, pp. 214—227. See also Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 127. I have little doubt that the Highlanders had the Psalms in their own language during the 16th century. A Gaelic translation of the first fifty Psalms was published by the Synod of Argyle in the year 1650; most probably made from the newly authorized version in English.

† The death of Philip II. in the year 1598, was fatal to the hopes which had for so many years instigated the Roman Catholics of Scotland to disturb the peace of their native country.

were affected, and that their object was to raise a false alarm, with the view of turning the public attention from their own operations. Accordingly, he neglected no opportunity of arousing his brethren to a due sense of the real danger to which they were exposed. In a discourse delivered at the Weekly Exercise in the month of June 1602, he condemned the unfaithfulness and secular spirit which were become common among ministers of the gospel. Gladstones and his colleague, feeling themselves galled with this rebuke, sent informations against him to court; and the King having come to St Andrews, issued a *lettre de cachet*, without any authority from the privy council, confining him within the precincts of his college *. The design of this arbitrary mandate was in part counteracted by a plan which was adopted by the members of presbytery, who were almost all pupils of Melville. They set on foot an exercise in the New College,

* " Apud S. Andrewes undecimo die mensis Julij, anno domini 1602. The kings Ma. for certaine causes and considerations moving his H. ordaines a mazer or oy^r officer of armes, to passe & in his name and autoritie command and charge M^r Andrew Melville principall of the New Colledge of S. Andrewes to remaine and containe himself in waird within the precinct of the said Colledge, and in noe wise to resort or reparie without the said precincts while he be lawfully and orderly releaved, and freed be his ma: under the paine of rebellion and putting of him to ye horne, with certification to him, if he faile and doe in the contrarie that he shall be incontinent therafter denounced rebell and putt to ye horne, and all his moveables goods escheat to his H. use, for his contemptio[n].

(Cal. d. vi. 615.)

Thomas Fentenn messenger."

M 2

in which they alternately treated a theological question. This was attended by the whole university. The questions selected were chiefly such as related to the popish supremacy and hierarchy, and the discussion was managed in such a way as to make it bear on all the points which were in dispute between presbyterians and episcopalians. By this means both ministers and students were confirmed in their attachment to presbytery, and qualified for defending it against its adversaries. As the exercise was performed in the Latin language, as it was agreeable to the directions of the General Assembly, and as the papists were the only opponents who were named, the court could find no plausible pretext for suppressing it *.

During the confinement of his uncle, James Melville exerted himself with uncommon zeal, and displayed a resolution and courage of which he had been supposed incapable. Perceiving that his good nature had been imposed on by designing and faithless brethren, that his silence was construed into consent, and that the compliances which he made, with a view to peace and harmony, were uniformly followed by farther encroachments on the rights of the church, he determined, henceforward, inflexibly to maintain his ground, invariably to act according to the dictates of his own judgment, and to lend a deaf ear to the fair professions of men who meant only to deceive and overreach †. He attended the

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 27—8.

† During the sitting of the General Assembly in the year 1692,

assemblies of the church at the risk of his life, and when confined by a lingering disease he wrote them from his sick-bed letters containing the freest advices and the most powerful exhortations to constancy. With the view of preventing his opposition to the court measures at a meeting of the synod of Fife, intimation was made to him that the King had given one of his letters to the Lord Advocate for the purpose of commencing a criminal prosecution against him; but he paid so little regard to this threatening, that Sir Robert Murray, in reporting the proceedings of the synod, informed his Majesty, that James Melville was become more fiery than his uncle. Being told that the King hated him more than any man in Scotland for crossing his plans, he coolly replied,

Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Exarmaveris impotentis iram *.

The death of Elizabeth at length put James in possession of the new kingdom for which he had

James Melville was sent for to the palace. As he came out of the cabinet, William Row, minister of Strathmiglo, who was waiting for access, overheard the King saying to one of his attendants: "This is a good simple man. I have streaked cream in his mouth: I'll warrant you, he will procure a number of votes for me to-morrow." Row communicated to James Melville what he had heard, and the latter having next day given his vote against the proposal of the court, his Majesty would not believe it, until the clerk had called his name a second time. (Livingston's *Characteristicks*, art. *William Row*.)

* Wodrow's *Life of Mr James Melvil*, pp. 96, 102. vol. 12. MSS. in Bibl. Col. Glas.

so ardently longed. In the speech which he made in the High Church of Edinburgh before setting out for England, he professed his satisfaction that he left the church in a state of peace, and declared that he had no intention of making any further alteration of its government. He repeated this assurance to the deputies of the synod of Lothian, who waited on him as he passed through Haddington. In answer to a petition which they presented in behalf of their confined brethren, he said, that he had parted on the best terms with Bruce, that he had expected that Davidson would wait on him as he came through Prestonpans, and that he had given Melville the liberty of going six miles round St Andrews*. All the ministers offered their cordial congratulations to James on this occasion, although they could not but be apprehensive that he would avail himself of the additional power which it gave him for overturning their ecclesiastical liberties f. The severity with which Melville had been treated did not prevent him from employing his muse in celebrating the peaceable accession of his sovereign to the throne of England :

Scotangie Prinoeps optime principum,
Scotangie Princeps maxime principum,

* Cald. vi. 699—701. Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, p. 36. The Rising and Usurpatione of our pretendit Bishopes, MS. p. 21. The relaxation of Melville's confinement was procured by means of the Queen's mediation. (Cald. vi. 615.)

f Row's Hist. pp. 191—2.

Scotobritan-hiberne Princeps :
 Orte polo, nate, sate princeps,
 In regna concors te vocat Anglia ;
 Te Vallia omnis ; te omnis Iernia ;
 Et fata Roma ; & Gallicani
 Per veteres titulos triumphi
 Addunt avitis imperiis novos
 Sceptri decores ; Orcadum & insulis
 Hetlandicisque, & plus trecentis
 Hebridibus nemorosa tempe :
 Quā belluosus cautibus obstrepit
 Nereus Britannis, quā Notus imbrifer,
 Qua Circius, Vultureus, Eurus
 Quadriga vehitur procella :
 Cujus ruentis naufragio impetu
 Vim sensit atram classis Iberica
 Alissa flietu confraginosis
 Rupibus, & scopulis tremendis.
 * * * *

Tui videndi incensa cupidine
 Plebs flagrat immenso, Eripe te mora
 Scotobritan-hiberne Princeps.
 Vive diu populoque foelix,
 Gratusque. Votis & prece supplices
 Rerum parentem concilia : & refer
 Exorsa regni lata, sanctum
 Christus imperium ut gubernet,
 Fratens proterue regna licentia,
 Laxans modestæ fræna decentia,
 Vt vera virtus verticem mox
 Conspicuum super astra tollat *.

* Melvini Musæ, pp. 12—15. There are three poems by him on the accession of James, and one on the sickness of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER X.

Melville's correspondence with learned foreigners—his apology for the non-conformist ministers of England—Hampton-court conference—proposed union of the two kingdoms—death of John Davidson—plan of the court for superseding the general assembly—ministers imprisoned for holding an assembly at Aberdeen—convicted of High Treason—Melville protests in parliament against episcopacy—extract from reasons of protest—he is called to London with seven of his brethren—their appearances before the Scottish privy council—sermons preached for their conversion—they are prohibited from returning to Scotland—Melville's epigram on the royal altar—he is called before the privy council of England for it—confined to the house of the dean of St Paul's—convention of ministers at Linlithgow—constant moderators appointed—the ministers at London ordered to lodge with English bishops—interview between them and archbishop Bancroft—Melville called a second time before the council of England—sent to the Tower—reflections on his treatment—his brethren confined—their dignified behaviour.

WHILE the jealousy of the government led them to circumscribe the usefulness of Melville in every way that was within their power, his reputation continued to spread on the Continent. Some of the most distinguished of the foreign literati courted his friendship, and corresponded with him by letters. Among these was Isaac Casaubon, who, after teaching in the academies of Geneva and Montpellier, had taken up his residence, and was prosecuting his critical studies, at Paris, where he enjoyed an honorary salary as Reader to Henry IV. and Keeper of the Royal Library. The correspondence between them began in the year 1601, when Casaubon addressed a letter to Melville couched in the most flattering terms. "The present epistle, learned Melville, is dictated by the purest and most sincere affection. Your piety and erudition are universally known, and have endeared your name to every good man and every lover of letters. I was first made acquainted with your character at Geneva, through the conversation of those great men, Beza, the deceased Stephanus *, and the learned Lectius, all of whom, with many others, as often as your name was mentioned, were accustomed to speak in the highest terms of your integrity, probity, and genius. You know the effect of splendid virtues

* Henry Stephens, the learned printer, was the father-in-law of Casaubon.

on the minds of the ingenuous ; and I have always admired the saying of the ancients, that all good men are linked together by a sacred friendship, although often separated ' by many a mountain and many a town.' Having for a long time loved and silently revered your piety and learning, (two things in which I have always been ambitious to excel) I have at length resolved to send this letter as an expression of my feelings toward you. Accept of it, learned Sir, as a small but sincere testimony of that regard which your reputation has excited in the breast of a stranger. Permit me at the same time to make a complaint, which is common to me with all the lovers of learning who are acquainted with your rare erudition. We are satisfied that you have beside you a number of writings, especially on subjects connected with sacred literature, which, if communicated to the studious, would be of the greatest benefit to the church of God. Why then do you suppress them, and deny us the fruits of your wakeful hours ? There are already too many, you will say, who burn with a desire to appear before the public. True, most learned Sir; we have many authors, but we have few or no Melvilles. Let me entreat you to make your appearance, and to act the part which providence has assigned you in such a manner as that we also may share the benefit of your labours. Farewell, learned Melville ; and henceforward reckon me in the number of your friends *."

* Casauboni Epistole, p. 129. edit. Almeloveen. There is only another letter to Melville in the collection. (ib. p. 254.)

Another of Melville's foreign correspondents was Mornay du Plessis, a nobleman who united in his character the best qualities of the soldier, the statesman, the scholar, and the Christian. The correspondence between them appears to have commenced on the occasion of a controversy excited among the protestants of France, by a peculiar opinion respecting the doctrine of justification, which Piscator, a celebrated theologian at Herborn in the Palatinate, had started. The National Synod of the French Churches, which met at Gap in the year 1603, passed a severe censure on the novel tenet, and wrote to other reformed churches and universities requesting them to assist in its suppression *. Melville and his colleague Jonston conveyed their sentiments on the subject in a letter to du Plessis. They did not presume to judge of the sentence of the Synod of Gap, but begged leave to express their fears that strong measures would inflame the minds of the disputants, and that the farther agitation of the question might breed a dissension very injurious to the interests of the evangelical churches. It appeared to them, that both parties held the protestant doctrine of justification, and only differed a little in their mode of explaining it. They, therefore, in the name of their brethren, intreated du Plessis to employ the author-

It appears from this that he had received letters from Melville. (comp. p. 143.)

* Quick, *Synedikon*, i. 227. Piscator was accused of holding that the sufferings of Christ only, and not the actions of his life, are imputed to believers in justification.

ity which his piety, prudence, learned writings, and illustrious services in the cause of Christianity had given him in the Gallican church, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy *. In his reply to this letter, du Plessis expressed his approbation of the prudent advice which they had given, and informed them of the happy effects which it had produced †. The King of Great Britain reckoned it incumbent on him, in his new character of *Defender of the Faith*, to interfere in this dispute, as he afterwards did very warmly in the controversies excited by Arminius and Vorstius. The Synod of Gap also gave him umbrage by a declaration which he considered as derogating from the due authority of bishops ‡.

The ministers of Scotland waited with anxiety to see how James would act towards that numerous and respectable body of his new subjects who had all along pleaded for a farther reformation in the English church. From this they could form a pretty correct estimate of the line of conduct which he intended to pursue with themselves. Before

* Epistola ad Morneium, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 46. & Rob. III. 2. 18. no. 10.

† Vie de M. du Plessis, p. 307. Quick, Synodicon, i. 265—6.

‡ The Synod declared that the title *Superintendent*, in their Confession, did not imply "any superiority of one Paster above another." (Quick, i. 227.) Against this James sent a remonstrance. (Laval, Hist. vol. v. p. 415.) Du Plessis, in a letter to M. de la Fontaine, apologizes for the declaration of the Synod. (Memoires, tom. iv. p. 50.)—James published his *Epicrisis de controversia mota de Justificatione*, Anno 1612. It begins with a quotation from *Solomon*, and ends with *Jacobus*.

the death of Elizabeth he had sounded the dispositions of the puritans. They were universally in favour of his title; and there is no reason to doubt that he gave them hopes in the event of his accession *. When he was on his way to London they presented to him a petition, commonly called, from the number of names affixed to it, the *Millenary Petition*; stating their grievances, and requesting that measures might be adopted for redressing them, and for removing corruptions which had long been complained of by the soundest protestants. No sooner was this petition presented than the two universities took the alarm. The University of Cambridge passed *a grace*, "that whosoever opposed, by word or writing or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the church of England, or any part of it, should be suspended, *ipso facto*, from any degree already taken, and be disabled from taking any degree for the future." The University of Oxford published a formal answer to the petition, in which they accused those who subscribed it of a spirit of faction and hostility to monarchy, abused the Scottish reformation, lauded the government of the church of England as the great support of the crown, and concluded with the modest declaration, "there are at this day more learned men in this kingdom than are to be found among all the ministers of religion in all Europe besides †." These proceedings were not

* See his letter to Mr Wilcock in Cald. vi. 698—9. and Jacob's Attestation of learned, godly and famous Divines, pp. 14, 313.

† Who were the individuals at this time in the church of Eng-

only grossly injurious to several respectable members of both universities, who were known to have taken part in the petition, but insulting to the King, who had received it, and promised to inquire into the abuses of which it complained. Melville felt indignant at this prostitution of academical authority, and attacked the resolutions of the English universities in a satirical poem which he wrote in defence of the petitioners †. The poem was extensively circulated in England, and galled the ruling party in the church no less than it gratified their opponents. Several of the English academics drew their pens against it, but their productions were confessedly very inferior to Melville's in elegance and pungency ‡.

land, (those inclined to non-conformity excepted) who were known in the republic of letters? To the names produced by Melville, Herbert opposes the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Emperor Constantine, St Augustine, St Ambrose, Duns Scotus, and King James. (Musæ Resp. Epigr. 33. De Authorum Exsatione.)

† *Pro supplici Euangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia ad Serenissimum Regem, contra larvatam geminæ Academias Gorgonæ Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria.* Authore A. Melvino. 1604. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions an edition of this poem in 1620. (De Scriptoribus Scoticis, MS. p. 13.) It was reprinted in Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum*.

‡ One of these was George Herbert, who, in forty epigrams, analysed Melville's poem, and answered it piece-meal. His epigrams were added by Dr Duport to a collection of Latin poems by himself and others, entitled "Ecclesiæ Solomonis &c. Accedunt Georgii Herberti Musæ Responsoræ ad Andrew Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Cantab. 1662." Isaac Walton says: "If Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy." Upon which Walton's editor re-

The proceedings and issue of the mock conference at Hampton Court are well known. On that occasion even the appearances of impartiality were not kept up. Every thing was previously settled in private between the King and the bishops. The individuals who were allowed to plead for reform were few; they were not chosen by those in whose name they appeared, nor did they express their sentiments; and, although men of talents and learning, they did not possess the firmness and courage which the situation required. The moderation of their demands was converted into a proof of the unreasonableness of non-conformity. The modesty with which they urged them served only to draw down upon them the most intemperate and insolent abuse. They were brow-beaten, threatened, taunted, insulted, by persons who were every way their inferiors except in rank. The puritans complained of the unfairness of the account of the conference which was published by Barlow; but, as has

marks: "We cannot suppose that Andrew Melville could retain the least personal resentment against Mr Herbert; whose verses have in them so little of the poignancy of satire, that it is scarce possible to consider them as capable of exciting the anger of him to whom they are addressed." (Walton's Lives, by Dr Zouch, p. 342.)—Thomas Atkinson B.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, wrote another answer, under the title of "Melvius Delirium, sive Satyra edentala contra ejusdem Anti-Tam-Cam-Categoriam—per Thomam Atkinson. Poema versibus Iambicis scriptum." (Harl. MSS. no. 3496. 2.) It was dedicated to William Laud, then Dean of Gloucester and President of St John's College. The MS. is not new to be found in the British Museum.

been properly observed, whatever injustice the bishop may have done to their arguments, and whatever intention he may have had to injure their reputation, they ought to have applauded his performance. Nothing, in fact, can be more pitiable than the disclosure which it makes of the bigotry and servile adulation of the bishops, and of the intolerable conceit and grotesque ribbaldry of the King. To quote it is to expose them to ridicule. No modern episcopalian can read it without reddening with shame at the figure in which the head and dignified members of his church are represented *. There was not the most distant idea of giving relief to the complainers by this conference. The object of it was to afford James an opportunity of displaying his talents for theological controversy before his new subjects, to give him a plausible excuse for evading his promises to the

* The Summe and Substance of the Conference—at Hampton Court January 14. 1609. Contracted by William Barlow, Doctor of Divinitie, &c. Lond. 1605. It is reprinted in Phoenix, vol. i. Besides Barlow, and the other authorities referred to by Neal, in his History of the Puritans, those who wish full information of the conference may also consult Wilkins, Concilia Mag. Brit. tom. ii. pp. 873—5.

Barlow's account of the Conference, with the Canons agreed on by the Convocation during the same year, was published at Paris in French by the Roman Catholics. Such notes as the following were added on the margin: *King James abjures the Scottish church—King James a semi-catholic, &c.* (Ad Sereniss. Jacobum Primvm—Ecclesie Scoticanae Nibelus supplex. Auctore Jacobo Melvino. p. 30. Lond. 1645.) The French protestants complained that their adversaries endeavoured to blacken them by quoting what James had said of the Puritans in his *Basileon Doren.* (Lord Hailes, Memorials and Letters, i. 73.)

non-conformists, and to smooth the way for the introduction of the forms of the English church into Scotland *. The liturgy was published with a few trifling alterations, and conformity to it was enjoined upon all ministers under the severest penalties †. In his speech to the parliament which soon after met at Westminster, James acknowledged the church of Rome to be his "mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions," spoke with the greatest tenderness of her adherents, and declared his readiness to "meet them in the mid-way:" but "the puritans or novelists, who do not differ from us so much in points of religion as in their confused form of policy and parity," his Majesty pronounced a "sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth ‡."

Warned by these facts, the ministers of Scotland were awake to their danger when the union of the kingdoms was proposed; a measure of which James was extremely fond, and which he set on foot immediately after he went to England. Melville was friendly to a legislative union, and joined with his learned countrymen in setting forth the advantages which would accrue from it to both kingdoms §. But he was

* Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 20. Toulm. edit. *Compleat Hist. of England*, ii. 665.

† Wilkins, *Concilium*, tom. ii. 377, 406, 408.

‡ *Journals of the Commons*, vol. i. p. 142.

§ *Delitiae Poet. Scot.* ii. 118. There is also a letter of Melville's prefixed to a treatise on the Union by Hume of Godscroft. See Note K.

convinced at the same time, from the disposition of the court, that there was the greatest reason to fear that the presbyterian establishment would be sacrificed to accomplish it. When the parliament of Scotland was called on this important business, the synod of Fife, under his influence, applied for liberty to hold a meeting of the General Assembly. They were told that this was unnecessary, as the commissioners to be appointed by parliament were merely to advise on the terms of union, and to report to their constituents; to which they replied, that in ordinary cases whatever was prepared by committees received the sanction of general meetings, and, consequently, the selection of the commissioners and the instructions given to them were of the very greatest importance. Having failed in obtaining this object, the synod addressed a spirited and solemn admonition to the commissioners of the General Assembly. After expressing their fervent wishes for the success of the proposed union, as conducive to the temporal prosperity of both kingdoms, and the security of the protestant religion in them, they admonished the commissioners to crave of the parliament that the laws formerly made in favour of the church should be confirmed, and that nothing should be done tending to hurt, alter, or innovate her discipline and government, which was founded on the word of God, established by the law of the land, and sanctioned by solemn promises and oaths. They required them to protest, that, if any step was taken to its prejudice, it should be

null and void ; and to charge those who voted in the name of the church, to confine themselves within the bounds of their commission, and to defend the ecclesiastical constitution, as they should answer to Christ and his church. And in fine they adjured them, before God and his elect angels, to inform the commissioners for the union, and, through them, his Majesty, that the members of Synod were fully persuaded that the essential grounds of the government established in the Church of Scotland were not indifferent or alterable, but rested on divine authority, equally as the other articles of religion did, and that they would part with their lives sooner than renounce them. The King was very desirous that the commissioners for the union should be invested with unlimited powers ; but the parliament, jealous of the designs of the court, passed an act declaring, in conformity with the request of the synod of Fife, that they should have no power to treat of any thing that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical discipline of Scotland *.

* Act Parl. Scot. iv. 274. Forbes's MS. History, pp. 34—5. James Melville's Hist of the Decl. Age, pp. 37—41. Printed Cald. p. 479—481. Calderwood represents the admonition to the Commissioners of the General Assembly as given by the Synod of Fife : James Melville ascribes it to the commissioners of Synods. Forbes states that the King sent down a list of such persons as he wished to be chosen commissioners, consisting chiefly of bishops, and newly created noblemen ; that the ancient nobility, offended at this, refused to bear their expenses ; that the persons nominated by the King unexpectedly offered to go at their own charge ; and that, upon this, the nobility made the act exempting ecclesiastical matters from their cognizance.

In the course of the year 1604, John Davidson, who had taken an active part in the public transactions of his time, departed this life *. On his return from banishment after the death of the Regent Morton, he became minister of the parish of Libberton. The tyranny of Arran drove him a second time into England. Upon the fall of Arran, he declined returning to Libberton, and was chosen to deliver a morning lecture in one of the churches of Edinburgh. In this situation he remained until he was called to Prestonpans, where he officiated till his death †. Davidson was a man of sincere and warm piety, and of no inconsiderable portion of learning, united with a large share of that blunt and fearless honesty which characterised the first reformers. The bodily distress under which he laboured during the last years of his life was aggravated by the persecution which he suffered from the government ‡. He left behind him collections

* Four individuals "having cōmissione of the baill parish of Saltprestoun, bot especially of ye laird of Prestone, compeirit lamenting ye death of o^r father Mr Joⁿ Davidsone y^r last pastor." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Sept. 5. 1604.)

† "Mr John Davidsoun refusit to reenter to the kirk of Libbertoun." (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 5. 1588.) "The transportation of Mr Ar^d. Symsoun from Dalkeith till Cranstoun, and Mr John Davidsoun's planting at Dalkeith," are remitted to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. (Rec. of Synod of Lothian and Tweedale, Sept. 17. 1589.) "Mr John Davidsoun's preiching in Edinburgh quarrellit and approved." (Ibid. Oct. 3. 1589. comp. April 1. 1595.) A proposal was made for having him settled in the West Kirk. (Rec. of Presb. of Edin. Oct. 29. 1594. March 18. 1595.)

‡ Cald. v. 579, 608.

relating to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, with other writings, which the court was eager to suppress*.

During the years 1604 and 1605, Melville bore an active part in the struggle for maintaining the General Assembly, the great bulwark of the liberties of the Church of Scotland. By the parliamentary establishment of Presbytery in the year 1592, it was secured that this judicatory should be held at least once a year, and a determinate rule was laid

* His papers, after his death, came into the hands of John Jonston, Melville's colleague. "Item, I leaue the trunk that lyes under the bwirde w^t Mr John Davidsons papers thairin to Mr Rob^t Wallace & Mr Alex^r Hoome at Prestounepannes." (Jonston's Testament.) At Jonston's death, an order was issued by the lords of privy council (Nov. 21. 1611) to the rector of the university and provost and baillies of St Andrews, to "cause his coffers to be closed"—as it was understood "that he had sundrie paperis wruttis and books, pairtie wruttin be himselfe, and pairtie be vyeris,—qlk contenis sum purpos and mater whairin his Ma^tie may have verry iust caus of offens, gif the same be sufferit to come to licht." (Collection of Letters in the possessioun of the Earl of Haddington.) An account of the progress which Davidson had made in his historical collections is given in a letter which he wrote to the King, April 1. 1608. (Cald. vi. 686—688.) "A little before his death he penned a treatise, *De Hostibus Ecclesiae Christi*, wherein he affirmes y^t the erecting of bishops in this kirk is the most subtile thinge to destroy religiose y^t ever could be devised." (Row's Hist. p. 293.) His catechism, entitled, "Some Helpes for young Schollers in Christianity, Edinburgh 1602," was reprinted in 1708, with a very curious preface by Mr William Jameson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, in which he exposes the forgery of Mr Robert Calder, who, by a pretended quotation from this catechism, attempted to persuade the public that Davidson had recanted presbyterian principles before his death.

down for fixing the particular day and place of every meeting. Under various pretexts James had infringed this rule; and, with the assistance of the commissioners of the church, had altered the times and places of assembling. In consequence of a complaint from the synod of Fife on this head, the assembly held at Holyroodhouse in 1602 came to the resolution, that general assemblies should hereafter be regularly kept according to the act of parliament *. His Majesty was present and agreed to this act; yet when the time approached for holding an Assembly at Aberdeen on the last Tuesday of July 1604, he prorogued it until the conferences respecting the union were over. As all classes in the nation were at that time eager in guarding their rights, the presbytery of St Andrews judged it incumbent on them to be careful of the rights of the church. They enjoined their representatives to repair to Aberdeen; who, finding none present to join with them in constituting the Assembly, took a formal protest, in the presence of witnesses, that they had done their duty, and that whatever injury might arise to the liberties of the church from the desertion of the diet should not be imputed to them or to their constituents.

This faithful step aroused the zeal of the other presbyteries. At the ensuing meeting of the synod

* Bult of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 201, b. 203, a. At the Assembly in May 1597, his Majesty declared the act of parliament regulating the meetings of the church courts to be "the most authentick forme of consent y^t any-king can give." Ibid. f. 187, a.

of Fife, delegates from all parts of the church attended to consult on the course which should be taken to assert their rights. At this meeting, and at an extraordinary one subsequently held at Perth, the parliamentary bishops and commissioners of the church were severely taken to task, and accused of clandestinely hindering the meeting of the General Assembly, for the purpose of prolonging their own delegated powers, and evading the censures which they had incurred by transgressing the caveats. It was at the same time resolved to send petitions from all the synods, requesting his Majesty to allow the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory to meet for the transacting of important and urgent business. Gladstones conveyed information to the King of the activity with which Melville and his nephew promoted these measures. In consequence of this an order came from London to incarcerate them. But the council, either offended at the bishop's officiousness, or afraid of the spirit which pervaded the nation, excused themselves from putting the order in execution *.

Notwithstanding the numerous petitions transmitted to court from presbyteries and synods †, the

* Apologetical Narration by W. S. (William Scot, minister of Cupar in Fife) pp. 133—138. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.) Printed Cald. pp. 482—484.

† On the 25th September 1604, the Presbytery of Haddington appointed commissioners to go to St Johnston “to regrait ye delay of ye generall assemblie.” Oct. 17. 1604, they agreed that a petition should be presented to his Majesty on this subject. Sept. 11. 1605, they appointed the following clause to be insert-

General Assembly was again prorogued in 1605; and, as if to declare that the King had assumed the whole power of calling it into his own hands, no time was fixed for its meeting. It now behoved the ministers to make a determined stand, unless they meant to surrender their rights without a struggle to the crown.

The election of the members of assembly had taken place in many parts of the country before its prorogation was known. After such mutual consultation as the shortness of the time permitted, nine presbyteries resolved to send their representatives to Aberdeen, with instructions to constitute the assembly, and adjourn it to a particular day, without proceeding to transact any business. John Forbes, minister of Alford, who had lately had an interview with his Majesty, and received assurances of his disposition to maintain the jurisdiction of the church, was employed to communicate this resolution to the Chancellor. That statesman professed himself satisfied with the moderation of the proposal, and promised to refrain from interdicting the assembly, and merely to address a letter to the ministers who should meet desiring them to separ-

ed in a supplication, "That seing we understand his Matie bein abused in respect no sute hath bene delyverit (as ane letter direct frō his Matie bearis) craving ane generall assemblie: q^uas the Sinod of lawthiane and tueddell, convenit at tranent, direct ane letter to his Matie craving maist humblie ane generall assemblie, and sent [it] to his Matie be Mr Jho. Spottiswood." (Record of Presbytery.)

ate. On the second of July, nineteen ministers* having met, after sermon, in the session-house of Aberdeen, Stratton of Lauriston, the King's Commissioner, presented to them a letter from the lords of privy council. As it was addressed "To the brethren of the ministry convened at their Assembly in Aberdeen," it was agreed, before reading it, to constitute the assembly, and choose a moderator and clerk. While they were employed in reading the letter, a messenger at arms entered, and, in the King's name, charged them to dismiss on the pain of rebellion. The assembly declared their readiness to comply with the desire of the council, and only requested his Majesty's Commissioner to name a day and place for next meeting. Upon his refusal, the moderator appointed the assembly to meet again in the same place on the last Tuesday of September ensuing, and dissolved the meeting with prayer. Lauriston afterwards gave out that he had discharged the assembly by open proclamation at the market-cross of Aberdeen on the day before it met; but no person heard this, and it was universally believed that he ante-dated his proclamation to conciliate the King and the court ministers, who were offended at him for the countenance which he had given to the meeting †.

* Ten other ministers came to Aberdeen after the assembly was dissolved, and by their subscriptions approved of what their brethren had done.—The Presbytery of Haddington severely reprimanded their commissioner for not repairing to Aberdeen, and approved of the procedure of the Assembly. (Record, July 17 and 24. 1605.)

† Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, 52—55. Simsoni

This is a summary account of the assembly at Aberdeen, which afterwards made so much noise, and which the King resented so highly. The conduct of the ministers who kept it, instead of meriting punishment, is entitled to the warmest and most unqualified approbation. It was equally marked by firmness and moderation, by zeal for the rights of the church and respect for the authority of their sovereign. Had they done less than they did, they would have forfeited the honourable character which the ministers of Scotland had acquired—disgraced themselves, and discredited those to whose places they had succeeded. They would have crouched to the usurped claims of a regal supremacy, which they and their predecessors had uniformly and steadily resisted, which were not more inconsistent with presbyterian principles than contrary to the laws of the country, and which, if yielded to, would have converted the free and independent General Assembly of the Church of Scotland into a Parisian Parliament or an English Con-

Annal. 90. Rising and Usurpation of the Pretendit Bishopes, 22—24. History by Mr John Forbes, 42—62. The two last MSS. are in my possession. Forbes, who was chosen moderator of the Assembly at Aberdeen, was a brother of Patrick Forbes of Corse, who afterwards became bishop of Aberdeen. Spotswood's account is entirely taken from the official *Declaration of the just causes of his Maj. proceedings against the ministers who are now lying in prison*; printed both at Edinburgh and London, in 1605. A counter-statement was published by the ministers under the title of *Faithful Report of the proceedings among the Assembly of ministers at Aberdeen*; printed in England in 1605.

vocation. They are entitled to the gratitude of the friends of civil liberty. The question at issue between the court and them amounted to this, whether they were to be ruled by law, or by the arbitrary will of the prince—whether royal proclamations were to be obeyed when they suspended statutes enacted by the joint authority of King and Parliament. This question came afterwards to be debated in England, and was ultimately decided by the establishment of the constitutional doctrine which confines the exercise of royal authority within the boundaries of law. But it cannot be denied, and it must not be forgotten, that the ministers of Scotland were the first to avow this rational and salutary doctrine, at the expence of being denounced and punished as traitors ; and that their pleadings and sufferings in behalf of ecclesiastical liberty set an example to the patriots of England. In this respect complete justice has not yet been done to their memory ; nor has expiation been made for the injuries done to the cause which they maintained, by the slanderous libels against them which continue to stain the pages of English history.

The privy council did not resent the proceedings at Aberdeen. But no sooner was his Majesty informed of them than he transmitted orders to the law-officers to proceed with the utmost rigour against the ministers who had presumed to contravene his command *. They were accordingly called

* His Majesty's letter to Secretary Balmerino is dated "at

before the privy council, and fourteen of them having stood to the defence of their conduct, were committed to different prisons. John Forbes, who was moderator of the Assembly, and John Welch, being considered as leaders, were treated with greater severity than the rest; being confined within separate cells in the castle of Blackness, and secluded from all intercourse with their friends. An anecdote, authenticated by the records of the council, affords a striking illustration of the spirit with which the ministers were actuated. Robert Youngson, minister of Clatt, had been induced to make an acknowledgement before the privy council, and was dismissed. But on the day when the cause of his brethren came to be tried, he voluntarily presented himself along with them, professed his deep sorrow for the acknowledgement which he had formerly made, avowed the lawfulness of the late assembly, and,

Hauering in the boure the xix of Julij 1605." (Collection of Letters in possession of the Earl of Haddington.) The ministers were first called before the privy council on the 25th of July. (Collection of Acts of Secret Council by Sir John Hay, Knight, Clerk of Register.) James marked with his own hand such parts of the proceedings of the ministers as in his opinion brought them "within the compass of the law." Among these the following merits notice. "In the said ire [the letter of the assembly to the privy council] thereafter at this signe \div , they wald mak yis thair appollogie for thair proceeding, that they sould not be the first oppenaris of ane gap to ye oppin breache & violatioun of ye lawis and statutis of yis reahme; willing ye counsell to wey & condidder thairof; as gif they wald mak ane plane accusatioun of sum tyrannie intendit be ws to ye prejudice of ye lawis of our kingdome, an speiche altogidder smelling of treason & lese majestie." (Collection of Letters, ut supra.)

having obtained the permission of the council, took his place at the bar *. Having declined the authority of the privy council as incompetent to judge in a cause which was purely ecclesiastical, six of the ministers † were served with an indictment to stand trial for high treason before the Court of Justiciary at Linlithgow. They were indicted solely for the fact of their having declined the privy council ; and the charge of treason was founded on a law enacted during the infamous administration of Arran, which, so far as it respected ecclesiastical matters, was disabled by a posterior statute. The defence of their counsel was able and conclusive, and the speeches of Forbes and Welch were of the most impressive kind. But what avail innocence and eloquence against the arts of corruption and terror ? The Earl of Dunbar, the King's favourite, was sent down to Scotland for the express purpose of securing the condemnation of the ministers. Such of the privy councillors as the court could depend on were appointed assessors to the judges ; the jury were packed ; after they had retired, the most illegal intercourse took place between them and the crown officers ; and by such disgraceful methods a verdict was at last obtained, finding, by a majority of three, the prisoners guilty of treason. The pro-

* *Act of Secret Council, Oct. 24. 1605. (Sir John Hay's Collection.)*

† *John Forbes, minister at Alford, John Welch at Air, Robert Dury at Anstruther, Andrew Duncan at Crail, John Sharp at Kilmany, and Alexander Strachan at Creigh.*

nouncing of the sentence was deferred until his Majesty's pleasure should be known *.

The conduct of the ministers during their imprisonment and on their trial, gained them the highest esteem. Those who had pronounced them guilty werea shamed of their own conduct. The glaring and scandalous perversion of justice struck the minds of all men with horror. In vain did the court issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the pain of death, any to pray, "either generally or particularly," for the convicted ministers, or to call in question the verdict pronounced against them, or to arraign any of the proceedings of government. Their proclamations were disregarded and disobeyed. Insensible to the feelings of the nation, the King refused to exert his right to pardon. He would not even impart to his councillors his resolution as to the punishment of the traitors, which he-

* Forbes, Hist. 62—151. Melville's Decl. Age, 61—92. Spotswood, 487—9. Scot's Apolog. Narration, pp. 143—163. Of the illegalities of the process no other proof is required than the account of it which the Lord Advocate transmitted to the King. (Lord Hailes, Memorials, vol. i. pp. 1—4.) In the same strain is the letter which Secretary Balmerino addressed to his Majesty "by direction of the counsell." "To dissemble nothing, (says he) gif the Erle of Dumbar had not bene with ws, and pairtie by his dexteritie in aduising quhat wes fittest to be done in euerie thing, and pairtie by the au^{tie} he had over his friends, of quhome a greit many past upoun the assise, and pairtie for that sume stood aw of his presens, knawing that he wald mak fidell relatioun to your mat^e of euerie mans pairt, ye turne had not framed so well as, *blessit be God, it has.*" (Coll. of Letters belonging to Lord Haddington.)

hoved, he said, to remain for some time in his own breast as an *arcannum imperii*. And he ordered them to proceed without delay with the trial of the other ministers who were in prison, and whose conviction he anticipated as a matter of course after the decision which had been given, especially if "more wary election was made of the next assisors *." Had this insane mandate been carried into execution, it must have spread dissatisfaction and discontent through the nation, and might have hastened on those confusions which broke out during the succeeding reign. Fortunately for James his councillors were endued with more wisdom than he possessed. They wrote him in plain terms, that it was impossible for them to procure the conviction of the remaining prisoners; that those who were on the former jury would not consent to re-act the same part; that, even if they were willing, it would disgrace the government to employ them; and that no others could be found to undertake a task which would expose them to universal odium and execration †. James reluctantly yielded; "but the tender-mercies of the wicked are cruel." The eight ministers were released from prison; but they were banished singly to the extremities of the Highlands, to the Western Isles, Orkney, and Shetland; and in these inclement and barbarous

* His Majesty's letter to the Lords of Secret Council, Jan. 22. 1606. (Coll. of Letters, ut sup.)

† The Counsellis Ans^t to his Majesty's Letter; Januar—1606. (Coll. of Letters, ut sup.)

abodes several of them contracted diseases which hurried them to a premature grave. The dread which was entertained of the talents of the six convicted ministers procured for them a milder fate. After being imprisoned fourteen months in the castle of Blackness, they were banished into France*.

These severities increased the nation's aversion to episcopacy, and its dislike of the bishops, who were universally believed to have incensed his Majesty against the men who opposed their elevation. If the first introduction of episcopacy had produced such persecution, what might be looked for when it obtained a complete ascendancy and establishment †? The people contrasted the harsh treatment of their ministers with the suspicious lenity shewn to Roman Catholics. It was observed, that, at this very time, Gilbert Brown, abbot of Newabbey, who had for many years been a busy trafficker for Rome and Spain, and a chief instrument of keeping the south of Scotland under ignorance and superstition, was released from the castle of Edinburgh, where he had been liberally entertained at the public expence, and was allowed to leave the kingdom, after all his crucifixes, agnus deis,

* Act of Secret Council, Oct. 23. 1606. (Sir John Hay's Collections.) Arch. Simson, *Annales*, p. 91. Cald. 549.

† Melville expressed the general feeling in these lines:

Talia si teneri producunt poma stolones?

Quid longeva arbos? qualia poma feret?

Simson, *Annales*, p. 91.

relics, chalices, and sacred vestments had been religiously restored to him : While John Welch, who had converted multitudes from the errors of popery by his pastoral labours, and had published, at his Majesty's particular request, a learned confutation of the abbot's tenets, was detained in vile durance, and obliged to support himself in prison on his own charges *. "Barabbas (says a writer of that time) was released, and the faithful preachers of the word of God were retained in loathsome dungeons †." Nor did it escape notice, that James continued unrelentingly to prosecute the imprisoned ministers after his miraculous escape from the Gun-powder Plot, and rejected all intercessions in their favour, though embodied in congratulatory addresses which were transmitted to him from his native kingdom on that memorable occasion †.

* Forbes, Hist. p. 111. Melville's Decl. Age, 82—3. Welch's book is entitled : "A Reply against M. Gilbert Browne Priest. Wherein is handled many of the Greatest and weightiest pointes of controversie between vs and the Papistes &c. By M. John Welche, Preacher of Christ's Gospell at Aire. Edinburgh, Printed by Robert Walde-grave, 1602." Pp. 363. Dedicated to James VI. It was reprinted in 1672, by Matthew Crawford, under the title of "Popery Anatomized."

It would appear that some of the ministers received pecuniary aid from their presbyteries during their imprisonment. "The haill bretheren of the presbyterie agreis to ane cōtributione of fourtie marks for support of y^r bretheren in ward." (Record of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Nov. 15. 1605.)

† Simsoni Annal. p. 98.

‡ Printed Calderwood, p. 507. A poem by Melville on the Gunpowder Plot is printed in Delit. Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 100. In the speech which James made to the parliament of England after

Melville took a warm interest in the fate of his persecuted brethren. He avowed his approbation of their conduct in holding the assembly at Aberdeen and in declining the judgment of the privy council. He zealously promoted petitions to the government in their favour. He was present in Linlithgow on the day of their trial to give them his advice, and to make a final attempt for accommodation with the privy council. And, after their conviction, he accompanied them to the place of their confinement*. It was not long till he was called to make a more open appearance in behalf of the cause for which they suffered, and to share in the hardships which he now sought to alleviate.

Presuming that these severe proceedings must have intimidated and subdued the spirit of the ministers, the court deemed the present a favourable time for taking another step in the introduction of episcopacy. The provincial synods were as-

the discovery of the plot, while he shewed great anxiety to distinguish between the different kinds of papists, he went out of his way to declare his detestation of "the cruelty of the Puritans, worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist." (Works, p. 604.) In answer to the petitions in behalf of the Scottish ministers, he said, that "the papists were seeking his life indeed, but the ministers were seeking his crown, dearer to him than his life." (Melville's Decl. Age, p. 83.) The truth is, James abused the Puritans because he dreaded no harm from them, and he endeavoured to keep fair with the papists, because, as he sometimes phrased it, "they were dexterous king-killers;" just as some Indians are said to worship the Devil, for fear he should do them a mischief. (Toplady's Historic Proof, ii. 215.)

* Printed Calderwood, pp. 508, 516.

sembled, and deputies from his Majesty required their consent to five articles, intended to secure the bishops from being called to account for their late violations of the *caveats*, and to recognize the power which the King claimed over the General Assembly. These articles were decisively rejected by the synod of Fife; and the other synods, with the exception of that of Angus, referred the determination of them to the General Assembly *.

Melville was deputed by the presbytery of St Andrews to wait on the parliament which met at Perth in August 1606, and was instructed to co-operate with his brethren of other presbyteries in seeing that the church suffered no injury at that assembly of the estates. Understanding that it was intended to repeal the statute which had annexed the temporalities of bishoprics to the crown, and to restore the episcopal order to their ancient privileges, they gave in to the Lords of Articles a representation; stating, that the episcopal office stood condemned by the laws of the church, and that the bishops were restored to a place in parliament without prejudice to the established ecclesiastical government; and craving, that, if any act were to be passed in their favour, the *caveats* enacted by the General Assembly, with the concurrence of his Majesty, should be embodied in it. In reply to this they were explicitly told by the Chancellor, that the bishops

* Simson, *Annal*, p. 98. Melville's *Decl. Age*, p. 92. Forbes, 165—6.

would be restored to the state in which they were a hundred years ago. Upon this the ministers prepared a protest, which being refused by the Lords of Articles, they gave in to each of the estates. Forty-two names, of which Melville's was the first, were affixed to this protest. The commissioners of shires and burghs at first promised to support it, but the most of them were in the issue gained over by the agents of the court. The chief nobility were decidedly averse to the restoration of episcopacy * ; but it was now a matter of greater consequence than it had formerly been to preserve the favour of the monarch, and he employed an argument with them which proved irresistible. The gifts which they had obtained from church lands were confirmed to them, and a great many new temporal lordships were erected from the same funds. The bishops violated the caveats by consenting to this alienation of the property of the church, and to the reduction of the number of her votes in parliament from forty-one to thirteen. This compromise being made, the parliament restored the bishops to all their ancient and accustomed honours, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, and livings, and at the same time revived the chapters which had been suppressed by the General Assembly. The preamble to this act is perfectly appropriate : it recognizes his Majesty as " absolute

* "En Ecosse la plupart des Seigneurs sont non-seulement Puritains, mais mal-contens : de sorte que je ne sçais s'il se pourra faire obeir." (Lettre à M. de Villeroy, 31 May, 1606 : Ambassades, de M. de la Boderie, tom. i. p. 63.)

prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal." By another act the royal prerogative was raised to the highest pitch, accompanied with the most extravagant and fulsome adulation of the reigning sovereign *. The greatest precautions were taken to prevent the ministers from protesting against these deeds. Melville had been appointed by his brethren to perform this task. On the day on which the acts were to be ratified, he gained admission into the House; but no sooner did he stand up than an order was given to remove him. Though thus prevented from taking a protest according to legal forms, he did not retire until he had made his errand sufficiently known †.

The protest was conceived in language respectful to parliament, but expressive of the most determined opposition to the measure under their consideration. It reminded the members of parliament, that they were not lords over the church, but nursing fathers to her; and that, instead of assuming a power to mould her government according to their pleasure, it was their duty to preserve and maintain that which had been given her by her divine head. It warned them that the

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 281, 282. The last mentioned act was concealed at the time. The oath of supremacy was ordained by act of Privy Council only. (Record of Privy Council, June 2. 1607.) Calderwood (MS. vi. 1112.) says, it was "printed at Edinburgh be Robert Charters, anno dom. 1607."

† Printed Cald. p. 521. Simsoni Annal. p. 100. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 105.

measure under their consideration would, if adopted, overthrow that discipline under which religion had flourished for so many years in Scotland. It conjured them not to undo all that they had done in behalf of the church ; nor, for the sake of gratifying a few aspiring individuals, to erect anew a hierarchy which had been abjured by the nation, and which had uniformly proved the source of “ great idleness, palpable ignorance, insufferable pride, pitiless tyranny, and shameless ambition.” And it concluded with declaring, that the protesters were ready to produce reasons at large to shew, that the power and dignity which it was proposed to confer on bishops were contrary to Scripture, the opinions of the fathers and canons of the ancient church, the writings of the most learned and godly modern divines, the doctrine and constitution of the church of Scotland since the beginning of the Reformation, the laws of the realm, and the welfare and honour of the King, parliament, and subjects*. The protest was drawn up by Patrick Simpson, minister of Stirling : the reasons of protest were composed by James Melville, with the assistance of his uncle †. The following extracts from

* “ *Informations, or a Protestation, and a Treatise from Scotland. Imprinted 1608.* ” Pp. 94. 12mo. It appears from the epistle to the reader, that this treatise was printed abroad by an Englishman who had fled from Bancroft’s persecutions. The protestation may be seen in the printed History of Calderwood, pp. 527—531.

† Printed Cald. pp. 527, 536. The Reasons of Protest are inserted at length in a well-written tract by Calderwood, entitled, “ *The Course of Conformity—Printed in the year 1692;* ” (pp. 20—48.)

the last mentioned paper will serve as a proof of the spirit with which it was written, and of the enlightened zeal for civil liberty, and the temporal welfare of the nation, with which the ministers were actuated.

" Set mee up these Bishope once, (called long since the Prince's led-horse) things, if they were never so unlawful, unjust, ungodly and pernitious to kirk and realme, if they shall be borne forth by the countenance, authoritie, care and endeavour of the King, (supposing such a one, as God forbid, come in the roome of our most renouned Sovereign; for to the best hath oftentimes succeeded the worst) they shall be carried through by his Bishope, set up and entertained by him for that effect; and the rest of the estates not onely be indeed as ciphers, but also beare the blame thereof to their great evill and dishonour. If one will aske, How shall these Bishops be more subject to be carried after the appetite of an evill prince then the rest of the estates? The answer and reason is, because they have their lordship and living, their honour, estimation, profit and commoditie of the King. The King may set them vp and cast them downe, give them and take from them, put them in and out at his pleasure; and therefore they must bee at his direction to doe what liketh him: and in a word, he may doe with them by law, because they are set vp against law. But with other estates hee cannot doe so, they having either heritable standing in their roomes by the fundamentall lawes, or then

but a commission from the estate that send them, as from the burgesses or barons. Deprave me once the Ecclesiasticall Estate, which have the gift of knowledge and learning beyond others, and are supposed (because they should bee) of best conscience, the rest will easily bee miscarried. And that so much the more, that the Officers of Estate, Lords of Session, Judges, Lawyers that have their offices of the King, are commonly framed after the court's affection. Yea, let Chancellor, Secretarie, Tresaurer, President, Controller, and others that now are, take heed that these new Prelates of the Kirk, (as covetous and ambitions as ever they were of old,) insinuating themselves by flatterie and obsequie into the Prince's favour, attaine to the bearing of all these offices of estate and crowne, and to the exercising thereof, as craftily, avaritiously, proudly, and cruelly, as ever the Papisticall Prelates did. For as the holiest, best and wisest angels of light, being depraved, became most wicked, craftie and cruell divells, so the learnedest and best pastor, perverted and poysoned by that old serpent with avarice and ambition, becomes the falsest, worst, and most cruell man, as experience in all ages hath proved.

" If any succeeding Prince please to play the tyrant, and governe all, not by lawes, but by his will and pleasure, signified by missives, articles, and directions, these Bishops shall never admonish him as faithfull pastors and messengers of God ; but as they are made up by man, they must and will flat-

ter, pleasure and obey men. And as they stand by affection of the Prince, so will they by no meanes jeopard their standing, but be the readiest of all to put the King's will and pleasure in execution; though it were to take and apprehend the bodies of the best, and such namely as would stand for the lawes and freedome of the realme, and to cast them into dark and stinking prisons, put them in exile from their native land, &c. The pitifull experience in times past makes us bold to give the warning for the time to come: for it hath been seen and felt, and yet dayly is, in this Island. And finally, if the Prince bee prodigall, or would inrich his courtiers by taxations, imposts, subsidies and exactions, layd upon the subjects of the realme, who have been, or shall bee so ready to conclude and impose that by parliament, as these who are made and set up for that and the like service *?"

These were not the representations of alarmists, who wished to excite prejudices against the bishops from mere antipathy to their spiritual power. Nor were they the offspring of imaginations disorder'd by unreasonable jealousy. In the course of a few years the strongest of these predictions were fully and literally verified, to the conviction of those who had treated them as visionary. The bishops, who owed their restitution solely to the favour of the King, and who depended on him as "the breath of their nostrils," ac-

* Cald. vi. 1158—1162. Course of Conformity, pp. 44—47.

knowledged themselves to be his creatures, and addicted themselves in all things to his pleasure * : they exerted all their influence to lay the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the different orders in it, at his feet ; while he, in return for their services, loaded them with honours, and advanced them to the highest offices of state. Owing to different causes these effects were more sensibly felt in Scotland, where, if episcopacy had been suffered to remain much longer, the government would have settled into a pure and confirmed despotism. But they were also felt in England. From the time that Henry VIII. caused himself to be declared Head of

* “ Most Gratiouſ Soueraigne, May it please zour most ex-
cellent Majestie, As of all vyses Ingratitude is most detestable,
I findand my ſelf not only as firſt of that dead eſtait qubilk zeor
(M.) hath recreate, but also in my priuate conditione ſo ouer-
quhelmed with your (M.) princely and magnifick benignitie,
could not bot repaire to zour (M.) moſt gratiouſ face, that ſo un-
worthie an creature miſt both ſee, bliſſe and thanke my earthly
Creator.” (Original Letter of archbishop Gladſtanes to the King,
Sept. 11. 1609. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 62.)
“ We will not be idle in the mean time (says he, in a letter to his
Majesty, Aug. 31. 1612.) to prepāre ſuch as have vote to incline
the right way. All men do follow us and hauſt for our favour, upon
the report of your Maj. good acceptance of me and the Bishop
of Cathness, and ſending for my Lord of Glasgow, and the pro-
curement of this Parliament without advice of the Chancellor.—
No Estate may ſay that they are your Maj. creatures, as we may
aſy, ſo there is none whose ſtanding is ſo ſlippery, when your Maj.
ſhall frown, as we : for at your Maj. nod we muſt either ſtand
or fall.” (Printed Cald. p. 645.) The ſame ſervility, though not
expressed in ſuch gross terms, appears in a letter to the King by
the Bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow and Orkney ; and in a letter
of archbishop Spotswood. (MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M.
6. 9. nos. 65. and 67.)

the English Church, and forced the bishops to take out licenses from him, and to acknowledge that all the jurisdiction which they exercised flowed from the royal authority, the episcopal bench and clergy became dependent on the crown. When the spirit of liberty pervades a nation it will exert an influence upon all orders of men ; and there have been instances of English (I cannot say Scottish) prelates, who have nobly withstood the encroachments of arbitrary power, and defended the rights of the people. But still it is reasonable to suppose, (and experience justifies the supposition) that as a body they will be devoted to the will of the prince, to whom they owe their places, from whom they look for preferment, and by whose authority they perform all acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Candour demands the acknowledgement, that a presbyterian church must also fall into state-subserviency in proportion to the power which the crown obtains in the appointment of its ministers ; although this patronage is necessarily limited by the want of preferments in such an establishment, and checked by the freedom of discussion which takes place in its different assemblies *.

* " The bishops (says Lord Kames) were universally in the interest of the crown, *as they have been at all times, and upon all occasions* ; and as the whole bishops were for the crown, it was indifferent which eight were chosen." (Essays concerning British Antiquities, p. 53.) This remark unquestionably requires qualification. But the instance to which Lord Hailes refers disproves it in part only. (Memorials. vol. i. p. 41.) Though all the bishops were " for the crown," they might not all be equally able to maintain its " interests ;" and in this respect certainly

In giving an account of the parliamentary restoration of prelacy, it would be unjust to omit mentioning William Douglas, Earl of Morton, a nobleman who inherited the magnanimity of the Douglasses, tempered by the milder virtues of his illustrious relative the Regent Murray. The public conduct of this peer was marked by independence. While he maintained all the hospitality and even magnificence of the ancient barons, his domestic arrangements were conducted, and his fine family reared up, in accordance with the purity of his morals, and the strict regard which he uniformly shewed to the duties of religion. He was a warm and steady friend to the presbyterian church. It was owing to his exertions that the parliament had formerly passed an act exempting the government of the church from the cognizance of the commissioners appointed on the union. The sickness which soon after put an end to his days prevented him from attending in his place at Perth; but he expressed his strong disapprobation of the act restoring episcopacy, and with his dying breath predicted the evils which it would entail on the country*.

it was not "indifferent which eight were chosen" on the Articles. But the reason why the King in 1612 sent a list of bishops was, not that he doubted of the attachment of any of them, but that he might assert his prerogative to nominate. And the reason why Lord Burlie wished to change "one or two" on the court-list was, not that he objected to any of the individuals named, but that he might maintain the privilege of the nobility in the election; as he distinctly states in his defence. (Ibid. p. 42.)

* Simsoni Annales, pp. 53, 112. Printed Cald. p. 482.

Melville's appearance before the parliament at Perth was the last which he was permitted to make in his native country. Episcopacy still stood condemned by the church, and the bishops remained destitute of all spiritual authority. The state of public sentiment and feeling in the country was such, that any attempt to confer this upon them by the mere exercise of civil authority would have been nugatory, and might have proved dangerous. The only way in which they could hope to succeed was by obtaining the consent of the church-courts to their assuming one degree of episcopal power after another, under false names and deceitful pretexts. Notwithstanding the number of ministers already in confinement, they judged it necessary to get rid of others, before they durst face an ecclesiastical assembly, or bring forward their proposal in its most moderate shape. Accordingly, in the end of May 1606, a letter from the King was delivered to Melville, commanding him, "all excuses set aside," to repair to London before the 15th of September next, that his Majesty might treat with him and others, his brethren, of good learning, judgement, and experience, of such things as would tend to settle the peace of the church, and to justify to the world the measures which his Majesty, after such extraordinary condescension, might find it necessary to adopt for repressing the obstinate and turbulent. Letters expressed in the same terms were addressed to his nephew James Melville, to William Scot, minister of Cupar, John Carmichael of Kilconquhar,

William Watson of Burntisland, James Balfour of Edinburgh, Adam Colt of Musselburgh, and Robert Wallae of Tranent *.

Having met to consult on the course which they should adopt, the eight ministers deputed one of their number to converse with the Earl of Dunbar, and to request him to deal with his Majesty to excuse them from a journey which they were afraid would prove fruitless, and which would be oppressive to them, on account of the ill-health of some of their number and the engagements of all. Under the mask of great friendship, Dunbar urged them to comply with his Majesty's desire; assuring them, that it would turn out the best journey that ever they undertook, that he had advised the measure out of regard to the church, and that the bishops, when made acquainted with the design, were very far from being pleased with it †. Although they

* Printed Calderwood, pp. 518—9.

† There can be little doubt that the bishops both knew and had advised the calling of the ministers to London. From a letter addressed by Gladstones to his Majesty, " 19th Janii," it appears that he was impatient for Melville's removal, and insinuated his hopes that he would not be allowed to return to St Andrews. " Mr Andrew Melvin hath begun to raise new storms with his Eolick blasts. Sir, you are my Jupiter, and I, under your Highness, Neptune. I must say,

Non illi imperium pelagi, sacrumque tridentem,
Sed mibi sorte datum—

Your Majesty will relegate him to some Aeolia,
—ut illic vacua se jactet in aula."

Lord Hailes, Memorials, i. 95.

placed little confidence in these assurances, the ministers resolved to go to London, after they had waited on the approaching parliament. Indeed, they were shut up to this course ; for had they acted otherwise, they would have incurred the charge of disobeying the royal authority, and an order for their incarceration would immediately have followed. Melville acquainted the presbytery of St Andrews with his intentions. They declined giving him any commission to act in their name, judging it safer that he and his brethren should appear in their individual character, and not doubting that they would prove faithful to the interests of the church. But they authorized him to receive an extract from their records of the subscription of Gladstones to the presbyterian polity, to be used as he should find necessary. Having put the affairs of the college in the best order he could, Melville sailed from Anstruther, in company with his nephew, Scot, and Carmichael, on the 15th of August, and reached London on the 25th of that month. A few days after they were joined by their four brethren who travelled by land *.

As soon as it was known that they were come to town, they were visited by a number of the ministers and citizens of London who favoured their cause. The archbishops of Canterbury and York

* " 1606. Aug. 15. M. Andro Melvil, &c. departit fra Anstruther toward Lundon." Laird of Carabes's Diary, in Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 283. Melville's Hist. of Declining Age, p. 109—111. Cald. vi. 1089, 1190.

sent to enquire for them, and invited them to their houses; but they excused themselves, on the ground that they could pay no visits until they had seen his Majesty * James, who was absent on a progress through the kingdom, had left his directions for them with Alexander Hay, one of his secretaries for Scotland, and Dr John Gordon, dean of Salisbury. Gordon was one of their countrymen, a son of the bishop of Galloway, and had himself been at one period presented to that bishoprick. Soon after the Reformation, he had gone to France for the sake of his education, and remained in that country until the accession of James to the English throne. On the continent he had attained no inconsiderable degree of literary celebrity, particularly for his skill in the oriental languages †.

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 111.

† On the 4th of January 1567, "Magister Joannes Gerdon" obtained a gift under the Great Seal, of the bishoprick of Galloway and abbacy of Tugland, vacant by the resignation of Alexander last bishop. "Et nos informati existentes de qualificatiōne singulare dicti Magistri Joannis. Et q. in hebraica, caldaica, syriaca, græca et latina linguis bene eruditus est—pro subditorum nostrorum instructione." In the title of the charter he is said to be "tunc temporis in Gallia studiis theologicis incumbente." (MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. i. 14. no. 92.) I must leave it to others to unravel the confusion as to the titles of John, Roger, and George Gordons to the bishoprick of Galloway. (Consult Register of Presentation to Benefices for Sept. 16, 1578, and July 8, 1586. Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, 181, 290—293. Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 166. Printed Cald. p. 425—6.) There is a letter from John Gordon to the Regent Murray, containing political intelligence. (Cotton MSS. Cal. C. 1. 70.) And another to John Fox, on literary topics. (Harl. MSS.

This talent would have made him an agreeable companion to Melville, had they met on another occasion, and had not the task allotted to Gordon, along with the Dean of Westminster, rendered them a kind of honorary guard on the ministers, and polite spies on their conduct. Notwithstanding this, Melville and Gordon had their literary hours in which the stiffness and reserve of their formal interviews were banished *.

The two Scottish archbishops, Gladstones and Spotswood, with others of the court-party, came to London, to be present at the intended conferences. A rumour prevailed, that the King purposed to have the questions at issue publicly disputed, and to renew the scene in which he had acted so conspicuous a part at Hampton-Court three years before. Melville and his fellows resolved not to engage in any such foolish contest. They had no authority to appear as champions for the Church of Scotland, and were not so arrogant as to take this character upon them. The English divines had no right to interfere with their controversies ; and if they chose to dispute, were in no want of antagonists among their own countrymen. And as

416.) A poem by him is prefixed to "Plaidoyé pour M. Jean Hamilton." And a poem in praise of him is inserted in *Delit. Poet. Scot.* ii. 174. There is an account of his works in *Wood's Fasti*, by Bliss, p. 131. and *Charters' Acco. of Scots Divines*, p. 3. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.)

* Melville's *Hist. of Decl. Age*, p. 120. *Melvini Musæ*, p. 24.

for those who had come from Scotland, they were not entitled to reason against a government which they had so recently approved by their subscriptions, and sworn to maintain. The ministers were not, however, urged with any proposal of this nature. They received at this time a letter from their brethren who were still in prison at Blackness, expressing the confidence which they reposed in their wisdom and constancy ; and charging them not to yield up any part of the liberties of the church of Scotland, with the view of purchasing for them either a pardon or a mitigation of punishment *.

The King shortened his progress, and returned to London sooner than was expected, to meet with the ministers †. They were introduced to him at Hampton-Court on the 20th of September, and were allowed to kiss his hand. His Majesty conversed with them familiarly for a considerable time ; enquired after the news of the country ; and rallied Balfour on the length of his beard, which, he alleged, had grown prodigiously since he had the pleasure of seeing it in Scotland, and would give him, he was afraid, rather a Turk-like look in London ‡.

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 113—114.

† Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 348.

‡ I have taken my account of the transactions at London and Hampton-Court chiefly from the narratives of two of the ministers, James Melville and William Scott, who kept registers of every thing that happened. Calderwood borrows from James Melville. Some important particulars are supplied by the despatchés of the French ambassador, M. de la Boderie, who appears to have taken much interest in the affair, and had access to good infor-

Two days after, they were sent for to Hampton-Court. On their arrival from their lodgings at Kingston, they were courteously received by archbishop Bancroft, who left the room as soon as the King entered with the members of the Scottish privy council. His Majesty stated at large the reasons which had induced him to send for the ministers, and concluded by intimating that there were two points on which he demanded an explicit declaration of their judgment: the one was, the late pretended assembly at Aberdeen, including the behaviour of those who had held it; and the other was, the best means of obtaining a peaceable meeting of that judicatory for establishing good order and tranquillity in the church. James Melville, after offering the compliments and congratulations which were suited to the occasion, requested, in the name of his brethren, that they might have time allowed them to deliberate on the answer which they should return to his Majesty's questions. They were required to be ready with their answers on the following day.

On entering the presence-chamber next day, they found it crowded with the principal persons about court. Melville suggested to the Earl of Dunbar the impropriety of their being brought before such a promiscuous assembly; as his Majesty might be offended at their uttering their sentiments, before

mation by his residence at court, and by means of M. de la Fontaine, one of the ministers of the French Church at London, and a great intelligencer. Spotswood's account is general.

the English nobility, according to the free manner to which they were accustomed in Scotland. But he was told that the arrangements were already made, and cautioned to be on his guard against saying any thing that was indiscreet or disrespectful in the presence of such honourable strangers. The King took his seat, with the Prince on his one hand and the archbishop of Canterbury on the other. Around him were placed the Earls of Salisbury, Suffolk, Worcester, Nottingham, and Northampton, Lords Stanhope and Knolles, with other Englishmen of rank; besides all the Scottish nobility who were at court. Several English bishops and deans stood behind the tapestry and at the doors of the apartment, who discovered themselves when the conversation became animated. The ministers had previously agreed to return a common answer by the mouth of James Melville. But his Majesty intimated that it behoved each individual to speak for himself; and beginning with the Scottish bishops and commissioners, he asked them what their opinion was concerning the assembly at Aberdeen. They all answered briefly, in their turn, that they condemned it as turbulent, factious, and unlawful. Then addressing Melville, his Majesty said: " You hear that your brethren cannot justify these men nor their assembly. What say you, Mr Andrew? Think you that a small number of eight or nine, met without any warrant, wanting the chief members, the moderator and scribe, convening unmanerly without a sermon, being also

discharged by open proclamation ; can these make an Assembly, or not ?" To this Melville replied in a speech of nearly an hour's length, delivered with much freedom and spirit, and at the same time with much respect. As for himself, he said, he had for a number of years been debarred from attending on general assemblies and all public meetings ; but, as it was his Majesty's will, he would endeavour to give him satisfaction on the different objections which he had stated. With respect to the paucity of members, there was no rule fixing the precise number ; two or three met in the name of Christ had the promise of his presence ; an ordinary meeting of a court established by law could not be declared unlawful on account of its thinness ; and those who met at Aberdeen were sufficiently numerous for proroguing the assembly to a future day, which was all that they did, and all that they had proposed to do. As to their warrant, it was founded on Scripture, his Majesty's laws, and the commissions which they received from their presbyteries. The presence of the former moderator and clerk was not essential to the validity of the assembly, which, in case these office-bearers were either necessarily or wilfully absent, might, according to reason and the practice of the church, chuse others in their room. His Majesty must have been misinformed when he said there was no sermon ; for one of the ministers of Aberdeen preached at the opening of the meeting. As to the alleged discharge of the assembly on the day before it met, (turning to Lauriston, who was the

King's Commissioner, he said, in a tone of the most fervent solemnity,) " I charge you, in the name of the Church of Scotland, as you will answer before the great God at the appearance of Jesus Christ to judge the quick and the dead, to testify the truth, and tell whether there was any such discharge given, or not."—He paused for a reply; but Lauriston remained mute, and the King, fain to break the painful silence, requested Melville to go on to state what reasons he had for not condemning the conduct of the ministers. " If it please your Majesty to hear me, I have these reasons. First, I am but a private man, come here upon your Majesty's letter, without any commission from the church of Scotland; and as no body has made me a judge, I cannot take upon me to condemn them. Secondly, your Majesty hath, by your proclamation at Hampton-Court," (here he produced the proclamation) " remitted their trial to a General Assembly; expecting there reparation of wrongs, if any have been done. I cannot prejudge the church and assembly of my vote, which if I give now, I shall be sure to have my mouth shut then, as by experience I and others, my brethren, have found before. Thirdly, *Res non est integra, sed hactenus judicata* by your Majesty's council; whether rightly or not I remit to God, before whom one day they must appear and answer for that sentence. I think your Majesty will not be content that I should now contradict your council and their proceedings. Fourthly, how can I condemn *my brethren indicta*

cause, not hearing their accusers objecting against them, and themselves answering?"

The speeches of the other ministers agreed with that of Melville; and what was omitted by one was recollected and supplied by another. The King exhibited evident symptoms of uneasiness, and an anxiety to bring the conference to a close. James Melville, at the conclusion of his speech, presented a supplication which had been transmitted to him from the condemned ministers. His Majesty glanced over it, and said with an angry smile, "I am glad that this has been given in." An interruption by Sir Thomas Hamilton, the Lord Advocate, led to a legal argument between him and Scot on the trial of the ministers for treason, in the course of which, the lawyer was thought by all to be worsted at his own weapons*. Indignant at hearing that most flagrant scene of iniquity vindicated in the presence of his Majesty and such an honourable audience, Melville fell on his knees, and requested permission to speak a second time. Having obtained it, he gave himself up to all his native fire and vehemence, and astonished the English nobility and clergy with a torrent of bold, impassioned, impetuous eloquence to which they were altogether strangers. Throwing aside the reserve which he had studied in his former speech, he avowed his belief of the complete innocence of his brethren, and jus-

* Several of the English nobility made handsome offers to William Scot, provided he would consent to remain in England. (Life of Scot, p. 7. Wodrow's MSS. vol. iv.)

tified their proceedings. He recounted the wrongs which had been done them on their trial, of which he was an eye and ear witness. Addressing the Lord Advocate, he charged him with having favoured trafficking priests, and screened from punishment his uncle, John Hamilton, who had been banished from France, and branded as an incendiary by the parliaments of that kingdom ; while he employed all his craft and eloquence to convict the unoffending and righteous servants of Christ. The accuser of the brethren, he said, could not have done more against the saints of God, than he had done against these good men at Linlithgow ; and not contented with the part which he had then acted, he behoved still to shew himself ‘*O λαύρης της Αλαζών*’*. At this expression the King, turning to the archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, “ What’s that he said ? I think he calls him Antichrist. Nay, by God ; it is the Devil’s name in the Revelation of their well-beloved John.” Then rising hastily, he said, “ God be with you, Sira.” But, recollecting himself, he turned round to the ministers, and asked them, what advice they had to give him for pacifying the dissentsions raised

* “ Il y en a un entr’autres (says the French Ambassador to Marquis de Sillery) qui lui a parlé avec un étrange liberté en toutes les occasions ; & sur ce que l’Avocat General d’Ecosse voulut prendre la parole dernierement contre icelui en la presence du Roi même, il en eut la tête lavée de telle façon, que le Roi & lui demeurerent sans replique.” (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 435.)

in the church ; to which they replied with one voice, *A free General Assembly.*

The ministers were dismissed with unequivocal marks of approbation on the part of those who were present. The English nobility, who had not been accustomed to see the King addressed with such freedom, could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the boldness with which Melville and his associates delivered their sentiments before such an audience, at the harmony of views which appeared in all their speeches, and the readiness and pertinency of the replies which they made to every objection with which they were urged. The reports of the conference which were circulated through the city made a strong impression in their favour. It had the effect of dispelling the cloud of prejudice which had been raised against them and their brethren ; and convinced the impartial, that, instead of being the turbulent, discontented, and unreasonable men they had been represented to be, they were only claiming their undoubted rights, and standing up for the ecclesiastical liberties of their country against the lawless encroachments of arbitrary power *.

They had scarcely reached Kingston when they were overtaken by Secretary Hay, who read to them, in the court before their lodging, a charge not to return to Scotland, nor to approach the court

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 121—124, 141, Scott's Apolog. Narration, pp. 177—180. Spotswood. pp. 497—8.

of the King, Queen, or Prince, without special licence. On the 28th of September, they were sent for to the Scottish council assembled in the Earl of Dunbar's lodgings. James Melville was first called in, and was urged by the Lord Advocate with certain ensnaring questions relating to his opinions and conduct. He refused to answer them, “I am a free subject (said he) of the kingdom of Scotland, which hath laws and privileges of its own as free as any kingdom in the world: to them I will stand. There hath been no summonses execute against me. The noblemen here sitting and I are not in our own country. The charge *super inquir, endis* was abolished and declared long since to be iniquitous and unjust. I am bound by no law or reason to accuse myself.” He besought the noblemen present to remember who they were, and to deal with him (though a mean man yet a free-born Scotsman) as they would themselves wish to be used, according to the laws of Scotland. He told the Advocate, who endeavoured to entangle him with legal quibbling, that, though no lawyer, he was endued with some portion of natural wit, and had in his time both learned and taught logic. “Mr James, (said Dunbar) will ye not deign to give an answer for his Majesty's satisfaction?” “With all reverence, my lord, I will (replied he); provided the questions be set down, and I may have time to advise on the answer.” Melville was called in last. He told the members of the council, “that they knew not what they were doing; and that they had

degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lands and lives for the freedom of their country and the gospel, which their sons were now betraying and seeking to overthrow *." If they were at all capable of serious reflection, the Scottish nobility must have blushed at their conduct on the present occasion, in forgetting so far what was due to their rank and place as to consent to become the instruments of the court, and of a few ambitious churchmen, to circumvent men who had been insidiously drawn from their homes, and to entrap them into declarations which were afterwards to be used against them as criminal charges. They ought plainly to have told their master, that it was neither for his own honour nor that of his native kingdom, (which his new subjects were at that time but too much disposed to contemn) to have men of such character detained there as suspected persons, and his differences with them exposed to the observation of English peers and prelates ; and that, if they were to be held as criminals, they should be sent home to be tried by their own laws and before their proper judges. If true nobility consists in that high and independent spirit, which, whether produced by the recollection of the deeds of ancestry or by other causes, spurns every thing which is dishonourable to the individual or to his country, then Melville and his companions

* Melville, 132—134. Scot, 180—1. Report of the Conferences Sept. 1606. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, no. 49.

shewed themselves to be, at this time, the nobles of Scotland.

The ministers received in writing the following questions, to which they were required to return answers. *First*, whether they had not transgressed their duty by praying for their condemned brethren, and whether they were willing to crave his Majesty's pardon for this offence. *Second*, whether they acknowledged that his Majesty, in virtue of his royal prerogative, had full power to convocate, prorogue, and dismiss all ecclesiastical assemblies within his dominions. And, *Third*, whether he had not a lawful right, by his royal authority, to call before him and his council all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, for whatsoever faults, and whether all the subjects are not bound to appear, answer, and obey, in the premisses. Each of the eight ministers, as directed by the council, gave in answers to the questions. They expressed themselves guardedly, so as not to give the court any advantage against them, but without sacrificing their own convictions, or compromising the principles of the church of Scotland. Along with these answers they presented a joint paper, containing their advice as to the best mode of putting an end to the ecclesiastical feuds with which their native country was agitated *.

They were now entitled to expect that they should obtain liberty to return to their homes. They had

* Melville, 136, 142. Scot, 180—187.

testified their obedience to his Majesty by coming to London. They had attended all the conferences which he had been pleased to appoint. They had returned answers to the questions which he had proposed to them. They had given him their best advice for re-establishing the peace of the church. If this was not acceptable to his Majesty, and if he chose to act in a different manner, it was at least incumbent on him, in point of justice and of good faith, to dismiss men whom he had called to his presence in the character of advisers, and not of criminals or suspected persons. But nothing was less intended than this. Their stay was arbitrarily and indefinitely prolonged; and all the arts of the court were put in practice to corrupt and disunite them. Salisbury and Bancroft held interviews with such of them as were thought most complying, and endeavoured to detach them from their brethren *. When this method failed, spies were set on their conduct †; and they were brought into situations in which they might be tempted to say or do some-

* Melville, p. 140. Row, 101. Livingston, Char. art. *William Scot*. "Je n'osse jamais crus (says the French ambassador) qu'ils eussent resisté de la sorte; car il n'y a eu voie que l'on n'ait tenue pour les gagner. Les disputes y ont été employées, ou ledit Roi a deployé tout ce qu'il a su. L'on en est venu aux offres & aux promesses, et depuis aux menaces a bon escient; mais tout a été en vain, n'ayant jamais iceux Ministres voulu consentir a aucune des propositions que ledit Roi leur a fait; tellement qu'il est constraint de les laisser là." (Ambassades de M. de la Bode-rie, i. 435.)

† Melville's Decl. Agr., p. 146.

thing which would afford a pretext for committing them to prison.

His Majesty had selected such of the English dignitaries as were most eminent for their pulpit-talents, and appointed them to preach in the Royal Chapel, during the conferences, on the leading points of difference between the episcopal and presbyterian churches. The Scottish ministers received orders to attend these sermons, and were regularly conducted, like penitentiaries, to a seat prepared for them, in which they might devoutly listen to the instructions of their titled converters. Dr Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, began with a sermon in defence of the antiquity and superiority of bishops, which the ministers characterised as “a confutation of his text.” Dr Buckridge, President of St John’s College, preached the second sermon, which was intended to prove the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. It was chiefly borrowed from Bilson’s book on that subject, with this addition, that the preacher confounded the doctrine of the presbyterians with that of the papists. The third sermon was preached by Dr Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, on the *silver trumpets* which were blown by the priests at the Jewish convocations, from which his

* His text was *Acts xx. 28*. The sermon was “written and synely compacted in a little book, whilk he had alwayes in his hand for help of his memorie.” (Melville’s Decl. Age, p. 120.) Melville composed a satirical epigram on it. (Musæ, p. 23.) And Barlow retaliated by a versified pun upon his satirist’s name. (Walton’s Lives, by Zouch, p. 353.)

londship, to the amazement of the ministers, undertook to prove that the convocating of ecclesiastical councils and synods properly belongs to Christian emperors and kings *. Dr King, Dean of Christ's Church, closed this pulpit-show by an attack upon the lay elders of the Church of Scotland. Collier says that the sermon, "tho' somewhat remote from the words" of his text, was "suitable to the occasion." But the truth is that the text was as suitable to the occasion as the sermon. It was very ingeniously taken from the Canticles †, and afforded the preacher an excellent opportunity of paying due compliments to the modern Solomon, the grand *Lay-Elder* of the Church of England, who, in virtue of his royalunction, possessed more ecclesiastical authority than all the mitred and cassocked clergy in his kingdom. If this "king of preachers" (as his Majesty used wittily to call him) had at this time an eye to that rich spot of "the vineyard" which was afterwards "let out" to him, he could not have forwarded his object better than by railing, as he did in this sermon, against presbyteries, and crying to his Majesty, *Down, down with them* ‡. Lest the court-preachers should

* Melvini Musæ, p. 23.

† Song, viii. 11, 12. "Solomon had a vineyard at Baal-haman, he let out the vineyard unto keepers, &c." No body can doubt that the author of *Vitis Palatina* was capable of making a very amusing sermon on this text, and one very gratifying to his master.

‡ Melville's Decl. Age, p. 135.

have failed in setting forth all the virtues of an English monarch, the ministers, on leaving the chapel, were conducted, by the Dean of Sarum, into the royal closet, where they had the gratification of seeing James touch a number of children for the cure of the king's evil *.

Though the episcopal orations had been more able and more convincing than they really were, it was not to be expected that they would make a favourable impression on those for whom they were immediately intended. The circumstances in which they were delivered were calculated to awaken prejudices which are neither weak nor dishonourable. If ever the Church of England had her days of chivalry, they had then passed by ; else her champions would have deemed it foul disgrace to attack antagonists who were not at liberty to defend themselves or to return the blows which they received ; and day after day to crow like cravens over men who sat bound and shackled before them. Con-

* Melville, 134. One of the panegyrists of James has very seriously alluded to this royal virtue in the following lines :

O happy Britaines, that thus have in One
 A just, wise Prince, a prompt Philosopher,
 A pregnant Poet, a Phisition,
 A deepe Divine, a sweet tongued Orator ;
 A curer both of Kings and poore mans Evill ;
 What would ye more ? a chaser of the Devil.

(The Laudable Life and Deplorable Death of our late peerlesse Prince Henry—By J. M. [James Maxwell] Master of Artes. Lond. 1612.)

sidering that the ministers were constrained to attend, who could have blamed them greatly, if, forgetting the sacredness, not of the place, (for they had no such silly scruple,) but of the service for which they were professedly met, they had at the moment given expression to what they felt at hearing the church to which they belonged so indecently assailed ? They listened, however, with the most respectful attention : they even took down notes from the mouth of the preacher. But they did not scruple to declare, after the service was over, that they thought the sermons very lame in point of argument ; and insisted that they should be printed, that they might have an opportunity of answering them *. They were all printed ; but when the ministers were preparing to reply, they were ordered to separate, and to take up their lodgings with the bishops †.

On the 28th of September, they were required by a message from his Majesty to be in the Royal Chapel early next day ; and Melville and his nephew received a particular charge not to be absent. It was the festival of St Michael, one of the *Dii minorum gentium* of the English, and was celebrated with much superstitious pomp. Several foreigners of distinction were present, among whom was the

* The First of the Four Sermons preached—at Hampton-Court in September last—by William Lord Bishop of Rochester. Lond. 1607. In the prefatory address, “ To the Ministers of Scotland, my Fellow Dispensers of Gods Misteries,” Barlow mentions the facts stated in the text.

† Melville, Hist. p. 147.

Prince de Vaudemont, son to the Duke of Lorrain, and commander of the Venetian army. On entering the Chapel, James Melville whispered to his uncle, that he suspected a design to ensnare them and put their patience to the test. The chapel resounded with all kinds of music. On the altar were placed two shut books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted candles. The King and Queen approached it with great ceremony, and presented their offerings. When the service was over the Prince de Vaudemont said, he did not see what should hinder the churches of Rome and England to unite; and one of his attendants exclaimed, "There is nothing of the mass wanting here but the adoration of the host *." On returning to his lodgings, Melville composed the following verses on the scene which he had just witnessed :

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regia in atra,
Lumina cæca duo, pellubra sicca duo?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano an ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam †?

By means of some of the court-spies, who frequented the house in which the ministers lodged, a copy of these verses was conveyed to his Majesty, who was, or

* Melville, 131—2. Scot, 180. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 82.

† For the sake of the English reader, who may be desirous to know the treason included in these lines, the following old trans-

affected to be, highly incensed at them. It was immediately resolved to proceed against their author.

On the 30th of November, he was summoned to Whitehall, and brought before the Privy Council of England. His Majesty did not attend, but one or two Scottish noblemen were present. Melville frankly acknowledged that he had made an epigram of which that which was now shewn him was an inaccurate copy. He had composed it, he said, under feelings of indignation and grief at seeing such superstitious vanity in a reformed church, under a reformed King who had been brought up in the pure light of the gospel, and before

lation of them, which, though flat, conveys the sense, may be added :

Why stand there on the Royal Altar hic
Two closed books, blind lights, two basins drie ?
Doth England hold God's mind and worship gross,
Blind of her sight, and buried in her dross ?
Doth she, with Chapel put in Romish dress,
The purple whore religiously express ?

Melvini Musae, p. 24. In this work there are, besides the verses given in the text, one poem by John Gordon, and two by John Barclay, author of *Argenis*, in defence of the *Royal Altar*; and five by Melville in reply. It may admit of a doubt whether the poems which bear the names of Gordon and Barclay were really written by them, or whether the whole were composed by Melville in the form of a poetical *jest* or *mock encounter*. The noted Poetical Duellist, Dr Eglisham, attacked Melville's Epigram on the Altar. The edition of his *Duellum Poeticum*, printed in 1618, bears on the title, "Adjectis prophylacticis adversus Andreæ Melvini Cavillum in Aram Regiam, aliisque Epigrammatis."

strangers who could not but be confirmed in their idolatry by what they witnessed at Hampton-Court on the occasion referred to. It was his intention to have embraced the first opportunity of speaking to his Majesty on the subject, and to have shewn him the verses. He had given out no copy of them, and he could not conceive how they had been conveyed to his Majesty. He was not conscious of any crime in what he had done. But if he had committed an offence, he ought to be tried for it in his own country : as a Scotsman, he was not bound to answer before the council of England, particularly as the King, his sovereign, was not present. The archbishop of Canterbury, addressing him, began to aggravate the offence, arguing that such a libel on the worship of the church of England was a high misdemeanour, and even brought the offender within the laws of treason. This was too much for Melville to bear from a man of whom he had so unfavourable an opinion as Bancroft. He interrupted the primate. " My lords," exclaimed he; " Andrew Melville was never a traitor. But, my lords, there was one Richard Bancroft, (let him be sought for) who, during the life of the late Queen, wrote a treatise against his Majesty's title to the crown of England ; and *here* (pulling the *corpus delicti* from his pocket) is the book, which was answered by my brother John Davidson *." Bancroft was thrown into the utmost con-

* Row repeatedly refers to this treatise of Bancroft, and David-

fusion by this bold and unexpected attack. In the mean time, Melville went on to charge the archbishop with his delinquencies. He accused him of profaning the Sabbath, maintaining an antichristian hierarchy, and vain, foppish, superstitious ceremonies; and silencing and imprisoning the true preachers of the gospel for scrupling to conform to these. Advancing gradually, as he spoke, to the head of the table where Bancroft sat, he took hold of the lawn-sleeves of the primate, and shaking them, and calling them *Romish rags*, he said, "If you are the author of the book called 'English Scottizing for Geneva Discipline,' then I regard you as the capital enemy of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, and as such I will profess myself an enemy to you and to your proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of my blood: and it grieves me that such a man should have his Majesty's ear, and sit so high in this honourable council." It was a considerable time before any of the council recovered from their astonishment so far as to think of interposing between the poor primate and his incensed accuser. Bishop Barlow at last stepped in; but he was handled in the same unceremonious way. Melville attacked his narrative of the Hampton-Court Conference, and accused him of representing the King as of no religion, by making him say that, "though he was in the church of Scotland he was not of it." He then proceeded to make

son's answer to it. (Hist. pp. 85, 347.) Bancroft's work is also mentioned by John Forbes. (Hist. p. 33.)

* An English writer has used much stronger language on this subject. (Toplady's Hist. Proof, ii. 233.)

strictures on the sermons which he had heard Barlow preach in the Royal Chapel. "Remember where you are, and to whom you are speaking," said one of the Scottish noblemen. "I remember it very well, my lord (replied Melville); and am sorry that your lordship, by sitting here and countenancing such proceedings against me, should furnish a precedent which may yet be used against yourself or your posterity."

He was at last removed, and his brethren were called in. The Lord Chancellor, apprehending that all the Scottish ministers might be equally fiery as the individual who had just been before them, addressed James Melville and Wallace in the mildest and most complimentary style *; and took the task of interrogating them from the primate, that he might conduct it himself in a less offensive manner. They confirmed the testimony of Melville, that no copy of the verses had, so far as they knew, been given out. After the council had deliberated for some time, Melville was again called in; and, having been admonished by the Chancellor to add modesty and discretion to his learning and years, was told that he had been found guilty of *scandalum magnum*, and was to be committed to the custody of the Dean of St Paul's, until the pleasure of the King, as to his farther punishment, should be known. A warrant was immediately

* "Fearing (says James Melville), as it appeared in using such charming, that force of spirit, whilk he needed not."

issued to the Dean, Dr Overall, to receive the prisoner into his house, to suffer none to have access to him, and to confer with him at convenient times on those points on which he differed from the church established by law, for his better satisfaction and conformity *.

Having got the man of whom they chiefly stood in awe confined, and received assurances that his brethren would be detained at London, the Scottish bishops posted home to hold a packed assembly. After all their preparations they durst not allow a free election of representatives of the church. Missives were addressed by the King to the several presbyteries, desiring them to send such persons as he named to Linlithgow on the 10th of December, to consult with certain noblemen and members of the privy council on the means of preventing the increase of popery, and of curing the distractions of the church. In some presbyteries three and in others six individuals were picked out, according to the numbers in each who were known to be favourable to the measures of the court; and private letters were addressed to them commanding their attendance at Linlithgow whether they received a commission from their presbyteries or not. Justly regarding this as an insult upon them, some presby-

* Melville's Hist. of Deel. Age, pp. 147—151. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. 188—9. Row, Hist. 103—105, 346—348. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 456, 458. The warrant to Dr Overall may be seen in Dr Zouch's edit. of Walton's Lives, p. 351, note.

teries refused to give any commission to the nominees of the court, and interdicted them from taking part in the judicial decision of any ecclesiastical question *. The powers of a general assembly were, however, assumed by this illegitimate body. The commissioners who acted on the part of his Majesty presented a letter from him, in which he declared it to be "his advice and pleasure," that "one of the most godly and grave and meetest for government" should presently be nominated as moderator of each presbytery, to continue in that office until the jars among the ministers were removed, and the popish noblemen reclaimed; and that the bishops should be moderators of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided. Inclined as most of the members were to gratify the king, this proposal met at first with considerable opposition. It was clearly seen that the new office was a mere stalking-horse to enable the bishops to gain that pre-eminence which they durst not directly claim; or, in the language of some of those who

* "We the presbrie of hadingtoū vnderstanding yat our brethren Mr James Carmichael Mr David Ogill and James reid are to repair at his hienes comand upon the tenth of yis instant to une meeting of the nobilitie in listlibgow, and considering *quod omnes tangit debet ab quibus curari*, *ut quod culpa non carat, qui rei se miscet ad se non pertinenti*; Be yir presents dischargis ye said brethren to vote conclude or determine of onie things the decision quod pertenis to ane generall assemblie, and comand thame in our name wth all humilitie To requeist the nobilitie yair conuenit to be suteris to his matie That ane frio grand assemblie may be convocatt as ye onlie remeid of all these evillis mentioned in his hienes letter." (Record of Presb. of Haddington, Dec. 8. 1606.)

opposed the measure, "the *consistit moderators* were the little thieves entering at the narrow windows to open the doors to the great thieves*." To silence these objections his Majesty's commissioners assured the assembly that he had no intention to subvert the present discipline of the church. The bishops repeated their deceitful protestations, that "it was not their intention to usurp any tyrannous and unlawful jurisdiction over their brethren," and that they would "submit to the censure of the church †." A variety of caveats, similar to those which had formerly been imposed on the voters in parliament, and brought forward with the same fraudulent intention, were agreed to. The seal of his Majesty against popery was loudly proclaimed; and hopes were given that he would listen to the intercessions which the assembly agreed to make in behalf of the ministers who were under confinement. By these means the strength of the opposition was broken, and the measure carried by an overwhelming majority. When the act of assembly was afterwards published, it bore that the bishops were to be moderators of provincial synods as well as of presbyteries; and there is the greatest probability in the allegation, that this clause was interpolated after the minutes were submitted to his Majesty's inspection ‡.

* *Course of Conformity*, p. 50.

† *Buik of the Univ. Kirk*, f. 219.

‡ *Ib. 218. b.—221. Cald. vi. 1239—1266. vii. 45—60.*

This assembly was opened by Law, bishop of Orkney, with a sermon on these words, *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem*: and it was closed with the warmest expressions of thanksgiving and gratulation on account of the uncommon spirit of union and harmony which had been displayed in all its deliberations. None are so loud in their praises of peace as those who are pursuing courses which directly tend to violate it; and in their dialect those are the men of peace who yield a tame submission to all the impositions of authority, or who obsequiously follow in the train of a ruling faction, at the expence of abandoning principle and sacrificing the public good. No sooner was the assembly over than the different synods and presbyteries received legal charges to admit the constant moderators. All the synods but one, whose name I need not repeat, refused; and their refusal was imitated by a number of presbyteries. Ministers in all parts of the country were thrown into prison, or declared rebels and forced to abscond; and in some places the most disgraceful scenes were exhibited, in consequence of the firmness of the church-courts and the violence of the agents of government*.

There is not a more pitiable situation than that of a good man who has suffered himself to become the tool of an unprincipled court, and who has not

Melville, 151—154. Scot, 189—196. Row, 105—110. Spotswood, 500—502.

* Printed Cald. pp. 565—569.

courage to break through the toils in which he has been unwarily caught ; whose character is used to sanctify actions which he reprobates, and whose services are demanded to carry into execution schemes of which he never cordially approved, and which he every day sees more and more reason to condemn. Such was the unhappy situation of James Nicolson. The way in which he was led to desert his early friends has already been stated *. From that time he had taken a leading part in forwarding the designs of the court against the liberties of the church ; although his behaviour occasionally gave symptoms that " all was not at peace within." After long hesitation he had lately accepted of a bishopric. In imposing the acts of the assembly of Linlithgow, of which he was moderator, he had to brook mortifications which caused him to be pitied even by those who were most offended at his defection from the presbyterian cause. Soon after this he sickened, and on his death-bed expressed the keenest regret for the course he had taken. When his friends proposed sending for a physician, he exclaimed, " Send for King James : it is the digesting of the bishopric that has wracked my stomach." He would not allow his episcopal titles to be put into his testament ; and earnestly exhorted his brother-in-law to keep aloof from the court, and not to become a bishop ; " for if you do," said he, " you must resolve to take the will of your sovereign for the law of your conscience †."

* See above, p. 105.

† Scot, p. 205. Simson, 116. Epist. Philad. Vind. apud

Melville remained under the *surveillance* of the dean of St Paul's until the 9th of March 1607, when he received an order from the privy council to remove to the house of the bishop of Winchester. As the messenger retired and did not insist on accompanying him immediately to the dwelling of his new overseer, he took the liberty of visiting his brethren; and, in consequence of the court being occupied in managing the House of Commons, he was allowed to remain with them for several weeks*. The injunction formerly given them to reside with certain bishops had been lately renewed. For the confinement of Melville some pretext had been found, in the charge brought against him, and the legal proceedings which took place on it. In the case of the other ministers no such thing could be alleged. Accordingly, they highly resented this unwarranted encroachment on their liberties. They wrote to Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the clerks of council, desiring to know the grounds on which it proceeded; but he could assign no cause. They waited on the bishop of Durham, who received them in such a manner as was by no means calculated to give them high ideas of the welcome which

Altare Damasc. p. 776. Wedrow's Life of Nicolson, pp. 3. 4. MSS. vol. 2. His Testament runs "I Mr James Nicolson Minister at Megill &c." without any mention of his episcopal office. "He deceased in the moneth of August 1607," and left a widow, Jane Ramsay, and three children, James, Margaret and Bessie. (Commissary Record of Edinburgh.)

* Melville's Hist. p. 171.

they might expect from their episcopal hosts *. They addressed a spirited remonstrance to the privy council of England. They complained of being detained in that country, to the impairing of their health, the wasting of their substance, and the heavy injury of their families and flocks. They protested against the late order of council as a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of their native country, and of the principles of justice, which forbids any man to be deprived of his freedom as long as he is unaccused and uncondemned. It could be considered in no other light, they said, than as a punishment; and for their part they would sooner submit to banishment or imprisonment in a common jail. They were pastors of the church of Scotland, long renowned among the churches of the Reformation; they had houses and incomes of their own with which they were contented; and it was neither consistent with the honour of his Majesty, of their country and church, nor with the credit of their function, nor with their personal feelings, that they should "feed like belly-gods at the table of strangers," exchange the character of masters and teachers for that of bondmen and scholars, and appear to the world to ap-

* His Lordship told James Melville, who was appointed to be his guest, that, in order to receive him, it would be necessary to put a gentleman out of his chamber, and two servants into one bed. He invited two of the ministers to dine with him, but before the day came sent a message, saying, that it was not convenient for him to receive them. (Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 161—164.)

prove of what they and their religious connections had always condemned. Wherein had they offended? Was it expected that they should do violence to their judgment and conscience to give his Majesty satisfaction? They knew of no principles held by them which had not been sanctioned by the ecclesiastical and civil laws of Scotland. But if it were otherwise, they craved that they might be remitted home to be admonished of their errors by their own church, without putting the lord bishops of England to trouble with them *.

The council having referred them to the archbishop of Canterbury for an answer to their petition, two of them went to Lambeth. His Grace received them with all the affability of a courtier, and conversed on the subjects which gave them so much pain with all the ease and *sang-froid* of a politician who knows that his power is firmly established, and that all his measures will be carried into execution. Judging from the exterior of his conduct on this occasion, one could scarcely suppose that he was the same individual who had persecuted the English puritans, and thrown so much abuse on the principles and proceedings of the presbyterian church in Scotland. When the ministers were introduced, he ordered his attendants to withdraw, and laid aside his mitre. He apologized for the order of council

* The order of Privy Council warranting the bishops to receive the ministers, the letter of the ministers to Sir Anthony Ashley, with his answer, and their Petition to the Council, are all inserted in Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 157—167.

by saying, that it was intended to provide them with accommodation suitable to their station, seeing it was not the King's pleasure that they should yet return to their own country. When James Melville had stated their reasons for declining this compelled courtesy, the primate acknowledged their force, and said that the bishops themselves did not relish the proposal, though they acquiesced in it to please his Majesty : " for (added he) our custom is, after serious matters, to refresh ourselves an hour or two with cards or other games * ; but ye are more precise." Changing the subject, he asked them if it would not be desirable to have the two churches united under the same government. They replied that it certainly would, provided the union was accomplished on sound and scriptural grounds ; but there was great danger of widening the breach by injudicious attempts to close it. " We will not reason upon that matter now," said the archbishop ; " but I am sure we both hold the grounds of true religion, and are brethren in Christ, and so should behave ourselves toward each other. We differ only in forms of government in the church and some ceremonies ; and, as I understand, since ye came from Scotland your church is brought almost to be one with ours in that also ; for I am certified there are constant moderators appointed in your general

* It seems the bishops avowedly violated those canons, the least transgression of which they punished so severely in the puritans. See the Canons of 1609 in Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. ii, p. 398.

assemblies, synods and presbyteries." His Grace went on for a long time in this strain of affected moderation, but real insolence; not neglecting to say that he was in a better state when he was but Richard Bancroft than now when he was archbishop of Canterbury. Scot thought it necessary to reply; and began with saying that they could not relinquish their ecclesiastical discipline with a *good conscience*. But the primate interrupted him with a gracious smile; and, tapping him kindly on the shoulder, said, "Tush, man; here, take a cup of *good sack*." And filling the cup, and "holding the napkin himself," he made them drink *. So, with many flattering expressions, and courtly promises to intercede with his Majesty in their behalf, his Grace dismissed them †.

The unjust judge in the parable was induced to do the widow an act of justice, to be rid of her troublesome importunities. The privy council of England adopted an opposite course; and, as the Scottish ministers persisted in demanding that they should either be proved criminal or treated as innocent, they resolved to terminate the affair by one act of summary injustice.

On the morning of the 26th of April, a servant of the Earl of Salisbury came to the house at which the ministers lodged in the Bow, and delivered a

* Osborne says, Bancroft was "characterized for a *joyful doctor*." (Secret History of the court of James I. vol. i. p. 65.) Warner taxes him with want of hospitality. (Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 496.)

† Melville, 168—170. Row, 101—2. Cald. vii. 14—16.

message, requesting Melville to speak with his master at his chambers in Whitehall. Regarding the message in a friendly light, Melville made himself ready and set out with all expedition. His nephew, who was more suspicious, followed him, as soon as he had dressed himself, to the palace, accompanied by Scot and Wallace. Melville came to the inn when he understood of their arrival, and told them that he had waited two hours without being able to see the premier. By this time he was apprised that he was to appear before the English council, but he did not wish to alarm his friends. "Why do you ask the reason of his lordship's message?" said he: "no doubt, he wishes me to dine with him. But I shall disappoint him; for I mean to take dinner with you." At table he exerted himself to cheer their spirits; acquainted them with the meditations on the second psalm which he had indulged during his walk in the gallery of the palace; and recited the verses which he had made on St George, the tutelary saint of England, whose festival had lately been celebrated with much foolish pageantry. James Melville, who at that moment could have wished that his uncle had never composed a couplet, said to him in the words of Ovid:

*Si saperem doctas odissem jure sorores,
Numina culteri perniciose suo :*

To which he replied, with his usual promptitude, in the next words of the same poet:

*Sed nunc (tanta mea comes est insomnia morbo)
Saxa (malum !) refero rursus ad icta pedem *.*

“ Well,” said his nephew, “ eat your dinner, and be of good courage ; for I have no doubt you are to be called before the council for your altar-verses.”—“ My heart is full and swells,” replied he ; “ and I would be glad to have that occasion to disburden it, and to speak all my mind plainly to them, for their dishonouring of Christ and ruining of so many souls by bearing down the purity of the gospel and maintaining popish superstition and corruptions.”—“ I warrant you,” said James Melville, who was anxious to repress his fervour, “ they know you will speak your mind freely ; and therefore have sent for you that they may find a pretext to keep you from going home to Scotland.”—“ If God have any service for me there, he will bring me home : if not, let me glorify him wherever I be. I have often said to you, nephew, He hath some part to play with us on this theatre.” As he said this, a messenger from the Earl of Salisbury entered, “ I have waited long upon my lord’s dinner, (said Melville) pray him to suffer me now to take a little of my own.” Within a short time two expresses were sent to inform him that the council was sitting and waited for him ; upon which he rose, and, having joined with his brethren in a short prayer, repaired to the council-room †.

His Majesty did not make his appearance ; but

* Ovidii Tristia, lib. ii. od. 1.

† Melville’s Hist. of the Recol. Age, pp. 178—181.

he had placed himself in a closet adjoining to the room in which the council was met. A low trick, and disgraceful to royalty, by which the prisoner was encouraged to use liberties which he would not otherwise have taken, and which were overheard by the person who was to decide upon his fate. The only charge which the council had to bring against him was the *epigram* for which he had formerly been questioned. Irritated as he was by what he had suffered, and by what he had seen, he was not prepared to make apologies or retractions. “ The Earl of Salisbury (says the French ambassador, to whom we owe the account of this interview) took up the subject, and began to reprove him for his obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge the primacy, and for the verses which he had made in derision of the royal chapel. Melville was so severe in his reply, both in what related to the King, and to the Earl personally, that his lordship was completely put to silence. To his assistance came the archbishop of Canterbury, then the Earl of Northampton, then the Lord Treasurer ; all of whom he rated in such a manner, sparing none of the vices, public or private, with which they are respectively taxed, (and none of them are angels) that they would have been glad that he had never left Scotland. In the end, not being able to induce him to swear to the primacy, and not knowing any other way to revenge themselves on him, they agreed to send him prisoner to the Tower. When the sentence was pronounced, he exclaimed : ‘ To this

comes the boasted pride of England! A month ago you put to death a priest, and to-morrow you will do the same to a minister*. Then addressing himself to the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, who were in the council, he said, 'I am a Scotsman, a true Scotsman; and if you are such, take heed that they do not end with you as they have begun with me.' The King was more irritated at this last saying than at all which had passed †."

Being prohibited from approaching the palace, the other ministers had employed one of their servants to watch the issue, who, returning at the end of three hours, informed them that Melville was conveyed by water to the Tower. They hastened thither, but were refused access to him ‡.

It is difficult to say which is most glaring, the injustice or the ridiculousness of the proceedings of the council, first and last, against Melville. He was no subject of England, and no member of the English church: he owed no fealty or subjection to the authorities of either. Called into that country by the letter, and detained in it by the will of his

* In the end of 1607, a minister in London was reprimanded for some freedoms which he had taken from the pulpit with the estate of bishops. Having afterwards given out some copies of his sermon, he was publicly whipped, made to stand four hours in the pillory, and had one of his ears cut off. Two days after he was again brought out, stood other four hours in the pillory, lost his remaining ear, and was condemned to perpetual banishment. (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, ii. 489.)

† Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. ii. pp. 207—209.

‡ Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 181. Row's Hist. p. 105.

sovereign, he was placed under the protection of the royal authority ; and he was entitled to claim the benefit of this, especially at a time when conferences were holding for bringing about a closer connection between the two kingdoms *. What had he done to forfeit this protection ? Had he published a libel against the constitution of England ? Had he intruded into her temples, or publicly insulted her worship ? Had he attacked or even written a single line against one of her *established* rites ? He had been forced to listen to discourses which he disliked, and to witness religious ceremonies which he detested. Was he also to be restrained from relieving his mind in private, by indulging in a literary recreation to which he had been addicted from his youth ? Or, was it a crime to communicate the effusions of his muse to his brethren who sympathized with all his feelings, and shared in all his secrets ? The only copy of it which had been seen was taken by a court-spy who haunted his lodgings for the base purpose of informing against him. But though he had been industrious in circulating it, where was the mighty harm ? Was the Church of England in such a feeble and tottering condition as to be in danger from a few strokes of

* Dr Zouch candidly allows that "the behaviour of Mr Melville during the conference afforded no pretext for detaining him in England," and that he endured "much persecution;" adding "it is not within my province to arraign the conduct of James for his great severity thus exercised." (Walton's Lives, pp. 350—353.)

a quill? Did she, like the Church of Rome, tremble at the report of a pasquinade? Were there none of all the learned sons whom she had brought up, and of whose achievements she boasted, to rise up and defend her with the weapons with which she had been assailed, that she was obliged to call in the secular arm for her protection, and to silence the audacious satirist by immuring him in a dungeon? The council were, in fact, the authors and propagators of the scandal which they punished with such severity. If they had not interfered, the epigram would most probably have remained among the papers of the writer, or have shared the same fate with similar productions which he amused himself with for the moment and then committed to the flames. But, by their injudicious interference, and in consequence of their having made it the ground of a criminal prosecution, it was circulated through Britain, despatched by couriers to the different parts of the continent, formed a subject of merriment at the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and even of the Vatican, and continues to this day to be read and relished as a merited castigation of a church, who, while she professed to have broken off all coanection with Rome, shewed a disposition to ape its manners, and to practise some of its silliest and most senseless ceremonies.

My Lord Chancellor Ellesmere was pleased to admonish Melville, at his first appearance, to join gravity and moderation to his learning; and the admonition was good. But really there are some

actions so glaringly unjust as to provoke the meekest of men. And there are some scenes so truly ridiculous as to baffle the gravity of the most rigid moralist and the most demure precisian. What shall we think of the Chancellor of all England, with the principal peers and prelates of the realm, assembled in close conclave, spending two solemn sederunts on the demerits of an epigram, critically scanning six Latin lines, endeavouring to construe them into treason, and in the end gravely finding them chargeable with the anomalous and barbarous fault of *scandalum magnatum* ?

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici ?

Those who secretly approve, or who faintly condemn these proceedings, will be prepared to palliate their iniquity by quoting precedents and referring to examples equally arbitrary and unjust ; and they will be loud in their censures of the deportment of the prisoner on this occasion, and in their declamations against the indiscretion and violence which he displayed in the course of his trial. Others, who are not disposed to join in this condemnation, will lament that, by his vehement and intemperate language, he should have detracted from the dignity of his defence, given his enemies an advantage against him, and subjected himself to a severer punishment than would have been inflicted on him if he had acted with more moderation and prudence. I feel as little inclined to sympathize with the regrets of this last class of persons, as I do to enter into serious argument with the first. I know of no fixed and uniform standard

of discretion by which the conduct of every individual is to be ruled on such great and extraordinary occasions. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." It is the voice of the Deity that roars in the thunder and that whispers in the breeze. There are virtues whose mild influence is grateful and refreshing in the ordinary course of life; and there are others which are salutary in purifying the social atmosphere, and in relieving it from those oppressive and noxious vapours by which it is apt at times to become impregnated. Some men are blessed with a placidity of mind and a command of temper which nothing can ruffle or discompose. Others are gifted with a keen and indignant sense of whatever is iniquitous and wrongful and base, with the power of giving expression to all that they feel, and with courage to exert that power. Let each use the gift which he has received, to the honour of Him who bestowed it, and to the benefit of mankind; subject only to those general laws which are common to both. "Quench not the spirit" of holy zeal for God and your country by the cold dictates of a selfish and timorous prudence, calculated only to beget a temperance which gives smoothness to the passion of the hypocrite who plays his part on the world's theatre. "If my anger go *downward* (said Melville to one of his prudent advisers) set your foot on it, and put it out; but if it go *upward*, suffer it to rise to its place *."

* Livingston's Charact. art. *Andrew Melville*.

He was prosecuted for what was no crime, and arraigned before a court which had no legal jurisdiction over him. He was under no obligation to defend himself; but he had a right to complain. In those who assumed the power to judge him he saw men of high rank and honourable station indeed, but men who were chargeable with many offences and acts of injustice besides those of which he was the object, and whose rank and station had precluded them from hitherto hearing the voice of faithful reproof. If, roused by the unworthy treatment which he met with, he felt it incumbent on him to discharge this dangerous duty, are we prepared to pronounce his reprehensions unwarranted, or to say that they were productive of no salutary and beneficial effect? It is a vulgar error to suppose that the decisions of an impassioned mind are necessarily blind and headlong. While selfishness contracts and cowardice clouds the understanding, the higher emotions impart a perspicacity and an expansion to the mind by which it perceives instantaneously and at one glance the course which ought to be pursued. Melville knew that his enemies sought an occasion against him, and that an advantage would be taken of the freedom of speech in which he chose to indulge. But he knew also that he could not regain his personal liberty without renouncing his principles and abjuring the cause to which he was resolved inviolably to adhere. Provided he was not permitted to return to his native country, and to resume his academical func-

tion, unfettered by sinful or dishonourable conditions, the degrees of external restraint under which he might be laid was to him a matter of comparative indifference. Nay, the punishment to which he had for some time been subjected, was, in some respects, more galling than any which the council might be provoked to inflict. And as it was more revolting to his own feelings, so was it also less creditable to those public interests which in his breast were ever paramount to personal considerations. Had he been contented to "wait pinioned" at the court of England, or had he suffered himself to be quietly removed out of the way, and cooped up in some narrow and remote island *, his name and the reasons of his detention would have been little heard of or enquired after. But his being committed to the Tower as a state-prisoner, with the circumstances which led to this, excited great speculation; and thus the cause for which he was imprisoned came to be widely circulated and generally known †. That

* It appears from a letter of Welch to Boyd of Trochbrig, that it was proposed that Melville should be sent to the isle of Guernsey. (MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. 1. 14. no. 100.)

† The French ambassador, after giving an account of the affair, and desiring that it should be communicated to Henry, adds, that it formed the only topic of conversation in London: "Il ne se parle maintenant ici d'autre chose, et en sont ceux de la Nation en grande rumeur." (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, ii. 209.) Along with Melville's epigram, the ambassador transmitted a copy of verses in answer to it, by one of the Royal Secretaries, "from which (says he) you will see the good intelligence that is between the Puritans and those who are about this King." (ib. i. 458.)

the manner in which he conducted himself in the presence of the English council was not, as has been alleged by some of his enemies, disgracefully violent, is evident from the report of impartial persons, and from the irritation which was felt by those whom he attacked. But granting that he gave way to excess, who does not prefer the open, ardent, impetuous, independent spirit of a Melville, to the close, cold, sycophantic, intriguing, intolerant spirit of a Barlow or a Bancroft ? The minute of council committing him to the Tower has, it seems, perished ; but History has put the transaction on her record, more durable than those of cabinet-councils, and it will be remembered, along with other unjust and tyrannical deeds, to the disgrace of its authors, and to the honour of the individual who was the victim of their violent but impotent revenge.

Tell them the men that placed him here
 Are scandals to the times,
 Are at a loss to find his guilt,
 And can't commit his crimes *.

When Melville was thrown into the Tower, the fate of his brethren was also fixed. His nephew was commanded to leave London within six days, to repair to Newcastle upon Tyne, and not to go beyond ten miles from that town on the pain of rebellion. The rest of the ministers were confined in different parts of Scotland, and such of them as were allowed to reside within their own parishes were not only pro-

* Defoe's Hymn to the Pillory.

hibited from attendance on church-courts, but were taken bound to procure a certificate of their good behaviour from a bishop, or else to return to London within a limited time *. The allegation that Melville's restraint was owing to the violence of his behaviour is refuted by the treatment which his nephew received. He, at least, had given no offence during his residence in England. On the contrary his conduct was such as to procure for him the approbation of the council, and to draw the most flattering commendations from the mouth of the Chancellor. Yet he was detained as a prisoner, and could not even obtain liberty to go to Scotland for the purpose of visiting his wife, who was then lying on her death-bed †.

There is one part of the conduct of the ministers which it would be highly improper to pass over. Their journey to England had subjected them to very considerable expence. They had been nine

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 181—183. Scot's Apolog. Nar. p. 205. Report of the Conferences: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 49. In the last mentioned MS. are two forms of licence to Balfour, who, it would appear, had objected to the first. After being allowed to remain a short time at Cockburnspath, he was ordered to remove to Frazerburgh in the north of Scotland; but the infirmities of old age forced him to stop on the road, and he was released from his confinement by the hand of death. (Cald. vii. 49.)

† After her death he was allowed, as a special favour, to go to Anstruther to put his family-affairs in order; but he was prohibited from preaching, or attending any meeting of presbytery or synod, during his stay, and was taken bound to return to the place of his confinement at the end of one month. (Cald. vii. 49.)

months absent from their own country. They had to support their families at home. Each of them was attended to England by a servant ; and they had kept a hospitable table for such of their acquaintance as chose to visit them in their lodgings at Kingston and in London. Soon after they came to court, the King caused a sum of money to be given them which was sufficient to defray the expence which they had then incurred*. But when he found that there was no hope of their yielding to his wishes, he withheld all further supplies, and directed them to take up their residence with the bishops. Rather than submit to this, they chose to live on their own charges. When they were preparing to leave London, Bamford and Snape, two non-conformist ministers, and Croslay, a respectable apothecary, waited on them with a large sum of money, which they had collected among their friends, and begged them to accept of it, to assist in defraying their expences and supporting their friend whom they were to leave behind them as a prisoner. The Scottish ministers thanked them for their kindness, but absolutely refused the money. They could not accept of it, they said, either in conscience or in honour. They could

* "Upon Wednesday the 15th of October the erle of Dunbar sent Robert Jowsie to their lodging, with eight sheets of gary paper full of English money knit up in form of sugar loaves, containing five hundred merks apeace to every one of them forr their charges and expences in coming to court." (Cald. vi. 1227.)

not conscientiously take it, knowing, as they did, that there were a great many ministers in England imprisoned or silenced for non-conformity, who stood in need of more relief than their friends could raise for them. Nor could they receive it without dis honouring their sovereign, at whose desire they had undertaken this journey, and who would doubtless reimburse what they had expended ; and without disgracing their country, which had already suffered greatly in its reputation, in consequence of the common talk of the people of England, that the Scots came among them to beg, and "to purse up the money of the land *." These who are minutely acquainted with the history of these times are aware that the complaints of the English on this head were loud, and uttered in the most contumelious and contemptuous language. Jealousy and national prejudice might lead them to exaggerate ; but it cannot be denied that the mean and mercenary behaviour of many of our countrymen, both of the higher and lower orders, who flocked to England after the accession of James, gave too much occasion for fixing the disgraceful stigma on the nation †. On this ground the ministers are entitled to the highest praise for their considerate, disinterested, and dignified conduct.

On the day after his uncle's incarceration James

* Melville's History of Decl. Age, pp. 183—4. Row, Hist. 106. Simsoni Annal. 111.

† Secret History of the Court of James I. vol. i. pp. 143, 174 217, 369—371. Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 217. De la Boderie, tom. ii. pp. 302, 492, iii. 162.

Melville received a note from him, marked by the hand of the Lieutenant of the Tower, requesting that furniture for a room might be sent him, along with his clothes and books. The strictest injunctions had been laid on the Lieutenant to allow none to have access to him; but his nephew contrived, by means of one of the keepers, to obtain an interview with him at the window of his apartment once a-day as long as he remained in London. Nothing which could be done for the comfort and relief of his imprisoned relative, (his liberation was at that time entirely hopeless) was neglected by this amiable man and affectionate friend. The recollection of his own hardships, and of the state of his family, was for the time absorbed in the deep and distressing concern which he felt for his captive uncle. It rent his tender heart to think of leaving him in his old age in such a desolate situation, without a friend to relieve the tedious hours of captivity, and with none to perform the common offices of humanity to him but a rude and unfeeling gaoler. He exposed himself to the risk of being personally apprehended by prolonging his departure for a fortnight after the time limited in the precept which he had received; and employed all his influence with his friends at court to have the place of his confinement changed from Newcastle to London or its vicinity, where he might be near his uncle, and ready to embrace any opportunity that occurred of being serviceable to him. But he was advised to desist from his applications, and to give immediate obedience to the royal injunction,

unless he wished the confinement of both to be rendered more rigorous. The only favour that could be obtained was a permission to Melville's servant to incarcerate himself along with his master.

Having secured this arrangement for his uncle's comfort, and supplied him with all the money he could spare, James Melville embarked for Newcastle, on the 2nd of July 1607, from the stairs leading to the Tower; and continued, as the vessel sailed down the river, to fix his eyes, streaming with tears, on the Bastile which enclosed the friend for whom he had long felt the most ardent and enthusiastic attachment, and whose face he was not again to behold *.

* Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 183. Cald. vii. 35, 39.

CHAPTER XI.

1607.

Melville deprived of the office of Principal—succeeded by Robert Howie—literary retrospect—erection of new universities and colleges—resort of foreign students to Scotland—literary labours of Scotsmen in Dublin—parochial schools and grammatical education in Scotland—Hercules Rollock—Alexander Hume—Ramean philosophy—theology and collateral branches of study—principal Rollock—Bruce—Pont—the Simsons—Cowper—law—Skene—Craig—Wellwood—other studies—Napier—Hume of Godscroft—extent to which Latin poetry was cultivated—advantages and disadvantages of this—general estimate of the progress of learning and of the influence which Melville had in promoting it.

No time was lost in depriving Melville of his situation in the university. For this purpose a royal commission was given to four laymen and four bishops, who met at St Andrews on the 16th of June 1607. They found Melville's place, as principal of the New College, vacant, simply upon his Majesty's letter, declaring that the privy council of England

had committed him to the Tower for a high trespass, and that he was not to be allowed to return to St Andrews *. The university did not act with the spirit which they had displayed on a former occasion of a similar kind. They did not remonstrate against the infringement of their rights by a foreign jurisdiction, nor did they even intercede with his Majesty in behalf of an individual who reflected so much honour on their body. To deter the members of the New College from making any opposition, the commissioners instituted a strict inquiry into the management of their revenues; and so eager were the professors to escape from censure, that they not only acquiesced in the removal of their principal, but were willing to devolve on him, in his absence, the blame of irregularities to which they had at least been accessory, if they were not the sole authors of them. The ingratitude and want of feeling which Patrick Melville evinced towards his uncle at this time excited general indignation; and the commissioners availed themselves of it so far as to deprive him of a considerable portion of the emoluments to which he laid claim †. The only persons who had the courage to testify their attachment to Melville were his students, who pre-

* Spotswood, Hist. p. 503.

† The bishops afterwards employed their influence with the court to have Patrick Melville “restored to his first stipend, *in regard of his good affection to his Majesty's service.*” (Letter of archbishop Spotswood to Sir James Sempill, Oct. 12. 1611: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. i. 14. no. 97.)

sented a unanimous petition to the commissioners, requesting that their revered master might be restored to them. To the discredit of churchmen it must be allowed that they often discover a great want of generosity, and even of humane feeling, in their proceedings. On the present occasion, the clerical members of the commission, not contented with stripping Melville of his principality, would also have deprived him of his salary for the current year; but the lay commissioners, though equally ready to gratify the King, yet not participating in the rancorous feelings of the bishops, and acting on principles of honour, quashed the disgraceful proposal *

It was easy to extrude Melville, but not so easy to find one who was capable of filling his place. This consideration created no small embarrassment to the bishops, on whom the management of the business was devolved. They were afraid that Melville's talents and fame would throw into shade any successor whom they might nominate; and that they would incur the odium of having sacrificed the interests of literature to the advancement of their own secular interests and ambitious views. Both in point of literary qualifications and of the place which he

* Letter, John Dykes to James Melville. (Cald. vii. 49—45.) Epistola Alexandri Humei Andréæ Melvino. (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 310.) Hume expresses his unwillingness to believe the report that Jonston had acted an unkind part to Melville, and bears his testimony to the friendly conduct of Robert Wilkie, the principal of St Leonard's.

already held in the college, Jonston was entitled to be advanced to the office of principal. But he was tainted with Melville's principles. This was the real bar to his preferment, although the infirm state of his health was made the excuse for passing him by. Robert Howie was the person fixed on as uniting the greatest portion of talent with the indispensable quality of a disposition to support the measures of the court. The opposition of Jonston being overcome by authority, Howie was, on the 27th of July, installed in the office of principal by virtue of a royal presentation, without regard to the comparative trial and election ordained by the parliamentary foundation of the college. But conformable as he had shewn himself to be, he received his appointment during the King's pleasure only; and when he scrupled accepting it with this limitation, he was told by Gladstones that the royal will was imperious and behoved to be absolutely obeyed. Some of the members of the university had now summoned up as much courage as to protest against his admission, on the ground that no process of deposition had been previously led against Melville; but this legal objection was disregarded, and those who brought it were threatened with being shut up along with the traitor for whom they appeared *.

From hostility to Melville and dread of his being allowed to return to St Andrews, archbishop Gladstones was extremely eager and officious in the

* Wodrow's Life of Robert Howie, p. 2.

whole of this affair. Perceiving this, the rest of the commissioners took care to devolve on him the most invidious and ungrateful part of their task. In his correspondence with the court, the servile bishop makes a merit of his attending at the breaking open of Melville's lodging to give possession to his successor, at the same time that he states that this task was imposed on him to degrade his character in the public opinion. If we may believe the primate, the new principal made his *debut* in such a manner as totally eclipsed the reputation of his predecessor. "Mr Robert Howie (says he) has been entered to teach in the New College, and that with so much rare learning as not only breeds great contentment to all the clergy here, but also ravishes them with admiration. So that the absence of his antecessor is not missed, while they find, instead of *superficial, feckless inventions*, profitable and substantious theology. What difficulty and pains I have had to settle him here, without help of any other of council or clergy, God knoweth! It was thought that the gap of Mr Andrew Melville's absence should have furnished such matter of discontent to the kirk and country as should have bred no small mutinie, and should have enforced your Highness to send the prisoner back, *tanquam sine quo non* *." This shews how happy the bishop felt at having been able to carry through a measure which he had despaired of accomplishing, and is a strong

* Letter, Gladstones to the King, Oct. 28. 1607. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 59.)

testimony in favour of those talents which he wished to disparage. The lights which Melville's genius threw over the science which he taught are here characterized as "superficial and feckless inventions," while the duller divinity of his less gifted successor is dignified with the name of "profitable and substantious theology." We know from other quarters that Howie's early exhibitions, instead of being received with applause, were treated with disrespect and censure. Having, to please his patrons, undertaken the defence of episcopal power, his students offered to refute his arguments, and he was subjected to a rebuke from the presbytery *. Indeed, from the known sentiments of the ministers, and the partiality of the students to a favourite and persecuted teacher, it is natural to suppose that both of them would be prepossessed against Howie, and disposed to undervalue, rather than to over-rate and extol, his abilities and performances.

Robert Howie was born in Aberdeen or its neighbourhood, and educated at King's College there. In company with John Johnston, his countryman, and probably his fellow student, he went to the continent and spent a number of years in foreign universities. He studied under two distinguished divines, Caspar Olevian, at Herborn †, and John

* Row, 218.

† The Dedication of the first edition of Buchanan's *Sphæra*, "Johanni Comiti a Nassau," is subscribed "Herbornæ ex illustri schola Celsitudinis tue, quinto Martii 1586. C. T. Additio. Robertus Howie Scotus."

James Grynæus, at Basle * ; and during his residence at the last of these places gave a specimen of his theological knowledge to the public †. On his return to Scotland he became one of the ministers of Aberdeen ‡. When Marischal College was erected he was appointed principal of that academy, in which situation he continued until the year 1598, when he was translated, by appointment of the General Assembly, to be minister of Dundee §. In the year 1604, he incurred the displeasure of the King by encouraging the inhabitants to exercise their rights in the election of their magistrates ||. But after that period he shewed

* His Thesis, on The Freedom of the Will, which he disputed before Grynæus, was printed “ Basileæ Typis Oporinianis Anno Christi M.D.LXXXIX.” A copy of it in the possession of Mr David Laiog, has the following inscription in Howie’s hand writing, “ M. Roberto Rolloco Hovæus mittit.”

† “ De Reconciliatione Hominis cum Deo, Sev de Humani Generis Redemptione, Tractatio Theologica. Avthore Roberto Hovæo Scoto. Accesserunt eiusdem authoris disputationes duæ: quarum altera est de Communione fidelium cum Christo: altera de Justificatione hominis coram Deo. Basileæ per Sebastianum Henripetri.” 4to. Pp. 157. The colophon is “ Basileæ — Anno CIO 13 xci. Mense Aprili.” It has two dedications; the one to Grynæus, and the other “ Joanni Jonstono, Viro doctissimo, Popvlari et fratri suo charissimo.” Sir Robert Sibbald mentions different *Theses* by Howie at Basle 1588—1591. (De Script. Scot. p. 56. conf. ejus Bibl. Scot. p. 116.)

‡ The Charter of Erection of Marischal College (April 2. 1593.) is subscribed by “ George Erle Marishall,” — “ coram his testibus—Magistro Petro Blackburn, Roberto Howæo Ministris Aberdonen,” &c.

§ Buik of the Universal Kirk, ff. 192, a. 198, b.

|| Letter from the King to the Privy Council, Auent the town

himself conformable to the court, and was one of those who appeared on the side of the bishops in the late conferences at Hampton-Court *. Howie's literary and theological acquirements were respectable; but he did not possess the genius, the elegant taste, or the skill in sacred languages, by which his predecessor was distinguished. Though, at his first coming to St Andrews, he embarked warmly in the episcopal cause, yet his zeal afterwards cooled, and he not only favoured those who refused to conform to the English modes of worship, but was in danger of being himself ejected from his place as a non-conformist †. He survived the establishment of episcopacy, and remained at the head of the theological college of St Andrews for some time after the restoration of presbytery ‡.

of Dundee and M. Robert Howye, Oct. 3. 1604. (Lord Haddington's Coll. of Letters.)

* Scot, Apolog. Narrat. p 177. Melville, 126.

† Diary of Mr Robert Trail Minister of the Grayfiares Edinburgh, MS. p. 9. Cassandra Scoticana to Cassandra Anglicana: Ep. Dedic. Medelburgi 1618. "Now (my dear Mr Howie) my labours are particularlie directit to you, 1, becaus peculiarlie due unto you as being deryvet from you. 2. heiring heir abroad yat for crossing, coping, capping, kneeling, &c. ye had receavit ane summons of this new necessitie I thought good to yield you this muche consolation, beseching God to inarme you ayir to divt [defeat?] thame, or patience and humilitie to indure thame, gif thay deale in regour with you." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. probably transcribed from a printed book.)

‡ It may be proper to state that throughout the confidential correspondence between Melville and his nephew, there is not an invidious hint thrown out against Howie. James Melville names him with high respect in a letter to his uncle, (Novocastr Apr.

Thirty-three years had now elapsed since Melville returned to Scotland. Six of these had been spent in the University of Glasgow, and the remainder in that of St Andrews; and during the whole of that time his talents and the important situations which he held had placed him at the head of the literature of his country. I formerly gave some account of the state of learning on his settling at Glasgow, and of the progress which it made during the time which he taught there. I shall embrace the present opportunity of tracing its progressive advancement during his residence at St Andrews.

The first of the two periods referred to was distinguished by the improvements which were introduced into the existing literary establishments of the country: the additions made to the number of our universities fall to be noticed under the last period.

It was formerly observed that the early institutions for promoting literature were generally attached to cathedral churches or monasteries. The Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen having been founded by bishops, it was natural for their founders to erect them in the chief cities of their respective sees. Edinburgh was not an episcopal seat,

penult. 1610): “Andream meum, rudimentis Theologicæ et linguae sanctæ initiatum ut hac hyeme potui, in Scotiam nunc ablegavi, cum mandatis ut Hovii nobilis uxorem ad maritum comitaretur; id enim a me proximis literis petiit Hovius noster.” (Melvini Epist. p. 161.)

and, consequently, was unprovided with a university or great school; although it had long been considered as the capital of the kingdom. As soon as the Reformation was established, the magistrates, in concert with the ministers of the capital, attempted to have this defect supplied *; but their endeavours were crossed by the bishops, who were jealous of the reputation and prosperity of the seminaries placed under their immediate and official protection †. The University of Edinburgh, which has since risen to such eminence, owed its erection to the fall of episcopacy. In the year 1579, when the General Assembly had attacked the episcopal office and drawn up the model of presbytery, the design of founding a college in Edinburgh was revived ‡. Encouraged by the ministers and other public-spirited individuals in the city, the magistrates immediately commenced building apartments for the accommodation of professors and students; and in the end of the year 1582 the classes were opened, under the patronage of the town-council, and the sanction of a royal charter §.

* Record of Town Council of Edinburgh, April 23. 1561, and April 8. 1562. Comp. above, vol. i. p. 460.

† Crawfurd's Hist. of University of Edinburgh, p. 19. Maitland's Hist. of Edin. p. 256.

‡ Record of Town Council, April 24. and Nov. 25. 1579.

§ Though the name of a *University* is not applied to the institution either in the Royal Charter of 1582, or in the Act of Parliament of 1621, yet in the latter, it is declared to be " ane Colledge—of humane letteris and toungis, of philosophie, theologie, medicine, the lawis, and all uther liberall sciences," and is endowed with " all liberties, fredomes, immunitiess and priviledgis appertaining to ane free Colledge, and that in als ample forme and

By donations from individuals and public bodies, and by obtaining a legacy bequeathed by bishop Reid*, the patrons were enabled to extend the benefits of the institution. From the number of students who resorted to the new college it was

lairge maner as anye Colledge hes or brakis w^t in this his M^ties realme." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 670, 671.)

* The following are the facts respecting this legacy, of which Maitland (Hist. Edim. p. 356.) has given an imperfect and inaccurate statement. Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney and Zetland, (who died in 1558.) " be his testament and lat^r will left the sowme of aucht thousand merkis money of this realme—for bying of the landis and yairdis lyand in the said burgh (of Edinburgh) qlikis sumtyme pertenit to vñq^{le} Sr Johnne ramsey of balmane And for founding of ane college for exercise of learnig thairinto, be the advise counsale and discretioune of vñq^{le} Maister Abraham creightoun prouest of dunglas, Maister James M^{lk}gill of rankelure nether clerk of the registe, and vñq^{le} Maister thomas makealzeane of cliftenhall." As the legacy had not been applied according to the will of the disponer, and " all the three persons to whose discretion the accomplishing of the work was committed" were dead, the town council, in 1582, supplicated the privy council, that his Majesty's right in the matter should be conveyed to them, and that they might have full power to pursue Walter abbot of Kinloss, " ane of the executors testamenteares of the said vñq^{le} Robert bishop of Orkney," and others indebted for the said sum. This supplication was granted by the privy council on the town council giving security that they would apply the money recovered to the support of a college. (Record of Privy Council, April 11. 1582.) On the 6th of July 1593, the town council had recovered the money in the hands of the abbot of Kinloss, which amounted to 4000 merks. (Record of Town Council, vol. ix. f. 207.) There does not appear to have been any ground for the charge brought against the Regent Morton of having seized on the legacy, as stated in Gordon's Geneal. Hist. of Earldom of Sutherland, p. 176 and in Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 134.

apparent that it would soon rival the most frequented of the older establishments; and although it suffered a great loss by the premature death of Rollock, its excellent principal, yet was it in a prosperous condition when Melville was removed from Scotland *.

Transferred from one sovereign to another, and lying at a distance from the seats of the governments to which they at different times became subject, the inhabitants of the Orkney Islands had been neglected, and allowed to remain in ignorance and barbarism. Bishop Reid, whose attention to the interests of learning we have just noticed, testified a laudable desire to remedy this evil by providing means of education for his clergy and the youth of his diocese. Having given a new foundation to his cathedral church of Kirkwall in 1544, he appointed the person who held the office of Chancellor to read publicly, once a week, a lecture on the Canon Law; and the chaplain of St Peter's to act as master of a Grammar School †. After the Reformation the

* Crawfurd's Hist. of the Univ. of Edinburgh, p. 67.

† " *Hic Cancellarius, qui pro tempore fuerit, tertium locum post prepositum occupabit, qui semel in septimana, nisi aliunde legitimate impeditur, tenebitur publice in Jure pontificio legere in Capitulo omnibus canoniciis, prebendariis, capellaniis, et aliis interesse volentibus;*"—" *Ordemamus preterea capellaniam beati Petri primum omnium tresdecim incompatibilem cum alio beneficio, alteratio seu servitio perpetuo, cuius sacellanus erit Magister artium et peritus grammaticus, Scole grammaticalis erit magister.*" (Nova Erectio ad decorem et augmentationem divini cultus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Orchadensi. Oct. 28, 1544. in Arch. Urb. Edin.) This deed was confirmed by Cardinal Beaton "pridie

emoluments of the chaplainry continued to be applied to the support of the master of the grammar school of Kirkwall *. In the year 1581, a proposal to erect a College in Orkney was laid before parliament, by whom it was referred, along with other plans for promoting education, to certain commissioners †. It is probable that the scheme was defeated by the interest of those who had got possession of the ecclesiastical revenues of that diocese, which formed the only fund from which the seminary could have been erected and endowed.

In 1592, the year in which presbytery obtained a legal establishment, Sir Alexander Frazer of Phillorth laid the foundation of a university and college within the town of Frazerburgh in Aberdeenshire ‡. It was intended for the ornament of

kal. Julii, 1545." (Bulla Nove Erectionis Ecclesiae et Capituli Orchadum.) Mackenzie, in his Life of Bishop Reid, says : " He built St Olau's Church in Kirkwall, and a large court of Buildings, to be a College for instructing of the youth in these and the adjacent Isles, in Grammar, Philosophy, and Mathematics." (Lives, iii. 47.)

* There is extant an original Gift and Presentation by Patrick Earl of Orkney (dated Feb. 26. 1595.) of the " Prebendarie of St Peter lyand within the diocie of Orkney—conforme to the erection thereof." The presentee is " to make actual residence for serving of the grammar school at Kirkwall as Master principal thereunto—otherways this gift to expyre ipso facto." This was followed by a decree of the Court of Session, May 22. 1601, confirming the gift. (Communication from Alexander Peterkin, Esq. Sheriff Substitute of Orkney.)

† Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 214.

‡ The grant confirming to him the lands and barony of Phillorth (July 1. 1592.) contains the following clause : " De-

a town on which he had conferred many privileges, and for the instruction of the youth in the northern part of the kingdom. The parliament ratified the institution in 1597, with high commendations of the liberality and patriotism of the founder †. Charles Ferme, who had taught for several years as a regent at Edinburgh, was chosen principal of the new college, and in the year 1600 was authorized by the General Assembly to undertake this office, along with that of minister of the parish of Frazerburgh ‡. His labours were much interrupted by the Earl of Huntly; and an end was put to them by his confinement, first in the castle of Down and afterwards in the island of Bute, for keeping the General Assembly at Aberdeen §. It does not

dimus et concessimus tenoreque presencium damus et concedimus plenariam potestatem et libertatem prefato Alexandra Frascer heredibus sua masculis et assignatis Collegium seu Collegia infra dictum burgum de Frasier edificandi, Universitatem erigendi, omnia genera officialium eisdem convenient et correspondent ele- gendi locandi et deprivandi, fundationes pro eorum sustentatione et omnia privilegia quocunque necessaria faciendi et detandi, Rectores principales et subprincipales et alia membra necessaria ad voluntatem et optionem dicti Alexri ejusque heredum masculorum et assignatorum antedict. faciendi eligendi mutandi et de- ponendi, leges acta et statuta pro boni ordinis observations faciendi et custodire causandi." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. 64. f. 46.)

† Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 147, 148.

‡ Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 194, b. Crawford's Hist. of Univ. of Edin. pp. 31, 33, 37, 39, 48. Fermei Analyse in Epist. ad Romanos, Epist. Dedic. et Epist. ad Leet. Edinb. 1651.

§ In 1608, Ferme wrote, from the place of his confinement, to Robert Bruce: "I have to this hour been released by the com- fort of no creature; neither have I heard to whom I may go.

appear that he had any successor in the college, which was most probably allowed to fall into decay amidst the distractions produced by the alteration of church-government.

The College of Fraserburgh might have succeeded better had it not been for a similar establishment erected at the same time by George Earl Marischal in the town of New Aberdeen *. Marischal College was originally endowed only for a principal, three regents, and six bursars; but its situation in a flourishing town furnished it with students, its proximity to King's College excited emulation, and the gratitude or the pride of individuals who

A thousand deaths bathe my soul tasted of; but still the truth and mercie of the Lord hath succoured me." (Cald. vii. 98, 99.) He was restored to his parish before his death, which happened on the 24th of September, 1617. Verses to his memory were composed by Archibald Simson, (Annal. p. 138.) and by Principal Adamson of Edinburgh, who, in the 75th year of his age, published a work of Ferme, who had been his regent at college. (Prefix. ad Fermei Analys. ut supra.) "Mr Charles Fairme," was called to be "secund minister of Haddington." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, July 28, and Aug. 25, 1596, and Sept. 28. 1597.) At the "desyre of patriarch cohen and Georg heriot commissionares direct from ye session of ye kirk of the north-west quarter of Edr," the presbytery "tollerat Mr charles ferum to preach in the Kirk of that quarter, at sic tymes and necessary occasiones as he salbe imployit be said session." (Rec. of Presb. of Edinburgh, Sept. 12. 1598.) He "was gane to ye north parts," in Dec. 12. 1598. (Ibid.)

* The Charter of the College was signed by "George Erle Marshall," on the 2nd of April 1593. It was approved of by the General Assembly at Dundee on the 24th of the same month, "after being examined by a Committee of their number." (Memorial by Principal Blackwell.) And it was ratified by Parliament on the 21st. of July following. (Act, Parl. Scot. iv. 35.)

received their education at it soon increased the number of its professorships and bursaries, as well as the small stock of books with which it was originally provided *.

Whatever may be thought as to the expediency of some of these collegial institutions, there can be but one opinion as to the zeal which they evinced in behalf of the interests of literature. Whether the founders acted from the impulse of their own minds or were guided by the deference which they paid to the opinions of others, the fact of so many academies rising up at the same time, evidently shews that the public attention had been awakened to the importance of education, and that a general and strong passion for literary pursuits was felt through the nation. It may also be observed that the improvements in the mode of teaching which had been introduced into the universities of St Andrews and Glasgow were adopted in one degree or another in the newly erected colleges. At Edinburgh, indeed, each regent conducted his students through the whole course of their studies, either because Rollock had been accustomed to this method, at St Andrews, or because he could not find a sufficient number of teachers. But at Aberdeen, in Marischal College from the beginning the regents had particular professions assigned to them. And the same arrangement was prescribed by the new foundation of King's College †. I formerly

* Memorial for Marischal College by Principal Blackwell.

† "Quatuor autem hos regentes nolluimus (prout in regni nostri Academiis olim mos fuit) novas profesiones quotannis."

stated that the establishment of the new foundation of the last mentioned seminary was much opposed *. It has even been questioned if it was ever legally introduced. But although it may be impossible now to lead a legal proof of its ratification, there can be no doubt that it was acted upon for many years †.

The resort of foreign students to Scotland at this period is another important and interesting fact in the history of our national literature. Formerly no instance of this kind had occurred. On the contrary, it was a common practice for the youth of this country, upon finishing their course of education at one of our colleges, to go abroad, and prosecute their studies at one or more of the universities on the continent. Nor did any one think himself entitled to the honourable appellation of a learned man who

immutare, quo factum fuit ut dum multa profiterentur in paucis periti inveniuntur: verum voluimus ut in eadem professione se exerceant, ut adolescentes qui gradatim ascendunt dignum suis studiis et ingeniiis praeceptorem reperire queant." (Nova Fundatio Coll. Reg. Aberdon.) The same regulation, expressed almost in the same words, is contained in the Charter of Marischal College.

* See above vol. i. p. 205.

† Cald. iii. 236, 268. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 163. I am informed that this point was warmly debated in the university in the years 1637 and 1638. The greater part of the masters, with Dr Arthur Johnston, the Rector, at their head, averred that the charter confirming the new foundation had been secretly destroyed and burnt by private persons about eighteen years before; and they offered to prove the genuineness of a copy of it which they produced. This was denied by the opposite party.

had not added the advantages of a foreign to those of a domestic education. But after the reformation of the universities of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the erection of the college of Edinburgh, this practice became gradually less frequent, until it ceased entirely except with those who wished to attain proficiency in law or in medicine. If students in languages, the arts, or divinity now left Scotland, it was generally to teach, and not to be taught, in foreign seminaries. The same cause which produced this change attracted students from abroad to this country. A few years after Melville went to the university of St Andrews, the names of foreigners appear for the first time on its records. The number of these rapidly increased; and Scotland continued to be frequented by students from the continent for a considerable time after the original cause of attraction had been removed. Though St Andrews was the chief place to which they resorted, yet they studied also in the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Some of them were persons of noble birth, but the greater part were young men engaged in the cultivation of theology and the branches of learning connected with it. No adequate cause of the fact under consideration can be assigned but the report which had gone abroad of the flourishing state of education in Scotland. It is a mistake to suppose that the foreign students were for the most part Danes, who were induced to visit this country in consequence of the connection established between it and Denmark by the marriage of James.

Some of them were Danes; but there were also French, Belgians, Germans, and Poles *.

The number of Scotsmen who at this time distinguished themselves as teachers in foreign universities and schools was great; but to give any thing like a proper account of them would lead me into a digression disproportionately large. I shall afterwards have occasion to speak of those who taught in the protestant academies of France. In the mean time, I cannot omit mentioning here a literary undertaking in Ireland by two of our countrymen. The state of education in that country had fallen so low that it was with difficulty that an individual capable of teaching the learned languages could be found even in the capital. In the year 1587, James Fullerton and James Hamilton established a school in Dublin. The talents of the two Scotsmen, joined with the most winning manners, soon procured them scholars. After they had taught privately for five years they were admitted to professorships in Trinity College, the fabric of which had been recently completed; and they contributed greatly to bring the University of Dublin into that reputation which it quickly acquired. Their labours would have deserved to be commemorated if they had done no more than to educate the celebrated James Usher, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, the great ornament of the church of Ireland, and one of the most learned men of his age. He was

* See Note K.

one of their first pupils in the grammar-school, was conducted through his course of philosophy at the university by Hamilton, and was accustomed to mention it as an instance of the kindness of Providence that he received his education under the two Scotsmen, “ who came thither by chance, and yet proved so happily useful to himself and others.” Whether the primate was initiated by them into the principles of the Hebrew language, in which he afterwards attained great proficiency, we are not informed ; but they introduced him to the beauties of the classic poets and orators, with which he was captivated in his youth to a degree which we could scarcely have supposed from the tenor of his subsequent studies *. It has been said that Hamilton and Fullerton concealed a political design under their literary undertaking ; and that they were sent to Dublin by the Scottish court as secret agents to obtain the consent of the Irish nobility and gentry to James’s right of succession to Elizabeth. This is not at all likely. It is much more probable, that the enterprize was entirely literary, and undertaken from the same motives which induced so many of their learned countrymen at that time to seek a

* Parr’s Life of Usher, p. 3. Smith, *Vita Usserii*, p. 16. Dillingham *Vita Laur. Chadertonii*, p. 55. There is a letter from Hamilton to Sir James Sempill, (Dublin, May 4. 1612.) in recommendation of Usher, when he went to London to publish his first work. “ Clear them (Dr Chaloner and Mr Usher) to his Mate; that they ar not puritans; for they have dignitarieships and prebends in the Cathedral churches here.” (MS. in Archiv. Eccl. Scot. vol. 28. no. 18.)

foreign field for the exertion of their talents. At a subsequent period James availed himself of the credit which they had gained, and they were employed in secret negotiations of the nature mentioned, which they carried on with much ability and success *. The services of both were rewarded. Fullerton was knighted, admitted of the Bed-chamber, and resided ordinarily at court after the accession. Hamilton was created Viscount Claneboy, and afterwards Earl of Clanbrissel †; was entrusted with great authority in Ireland; and, in concert with his pupil, the primate, and his countryman, the bishop of Raphoe, shewed favour to such ministers as took shelter in that country from the persecution of the Scottish prelates ‡. I cannot positively determine whether Hamilton studied under Melville or not §; but Fullerton was one of

* This is confirmed by the account which Dr Birch gives; although he speaks immediately of negotiations with the English nobility. (Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 232.) The letter from King James inserted in the Appendix to Strype's Annals, vol. iv. and which Strype supposes to have been written to Lord Hamilton, was addressed, I have no doubt, to James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Claneboy.

† Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 257. According to Lodge, he was the eldest son of Hans Hamilton of Dunlop. Crawford says that Hans Hamilton, *vicar* of Dunlop, was son of Archibald Hamilton of Raploch. (MS. Baronage, pp. 265—7. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 5. 30.)

‡ Life of Mr Robert Blair, pp. 47—52, 64, 80. Life of Mr John Livingston.

§ In the year 1584, "James Hamilton" was made Bachelor, and in 1585 Master of Arts, at St Andrews. "Anno 1586, Jacob⁸ Hamyltoun" was laureated at Glasgow.

his scholars, and continued always to treat him with the most marked respect and friendship *. He retained his love of letters, and a partiality for his early studies, after he had exchanged the life of the scholar for that of the courtier †.

In a former part of this work some account was given of the state of the inferior order of seminaries in Scotland when Melville came to St Andrews ‡. Since that time the number of parochial schools had increased, although in many places they were still wanting, and in others the teachers enjoyed a very inadequate and precarious support. There was as yet no law rendering it imperious on the heritors or parishioners to provide them with accommodations or salaries. The persuasions of the ministers and

* See above vol. i. p. 76. and Letter from Melville to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees ; Dec. 1. 1610. in Appendix.

† "Hoc saxum (a grammatical difficulty) cum diu volvissem, tandem incidi in Jacobum Fullertonum, virum doctum, et in omni disciplina satis exercitatum. Cum eo rem disceptavi, &c." (Humii Grammatica Nova, Part. ii. p. 15.) See also Leo-phaei Epigram, pp. 23. 48. In 1611, Sir James Fullerton, was by the favour of Prince Henry appointed Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and master of the Privy Purse to the Duke of York, (Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, pp. 232—235.) His Testament is dated Dec. 28. 1630, and was proved Feb. 5. 1630, (O. S.) He left no issue, and bequeathed "the estate and interest of the manor of Bifleet," with his leases of the Lead Mines, &c. after paying his debts, to his "deare and well beloved wife, the Lady Bruce." "The Right Honourable Thomas Lord Bruce, Baron of Kinlosse" was his sole executor. (Will, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.)

‡ See above vol. i. p. 133.

the authority of the church-courts were, however, exerted in supplying this defect. As every minister was bound regularly to examine his people, it became his interest to have a schoolmaster for the instruction of the youth. At the annual visitation of parishes by presbyteries and provincial synods, the state of the schools formed one subject of uniform inquiry; the qualifications of the teachers were tried; and where there was no school, means were used for having one established. A "common order" as to the rate of contribution to be raised for the salary of the teacher, and as to the fees to be paid by the scholars, was laid down and put in practice, long before the act of council in 1616 which was ratified by parliament in 1633. It is a mistake to suppose that the parochial schools of Scotland owed their origin to these enactments. The parliamentary statute has, indeed, been eventually of great benefit. But it would have remained a dead letter but for the exertions of the church-courts; and, owing to the vague nature of its provisions, it continued long to be evaded by those who were insensible to the benefits of education, or who grudged the smallest expence for the sake of promoting it. The reader will find in the notes some facts which throw light on the state of parochial instruction at this period *.

The classical schools had also increased in number, and improvements were introduced into those which had existed from ancient times. Two indivi-

* See Note L.

viduals, who were successively at the head of the High School of Edinburgh, are entitled to our notice here, from the services which they rendered to the literature of their country, as well as the connection which they had with Melville. Hercules Rollock had received a complete education, and was an excellent classical scholar. After finishing his studies at St Andrews, and teaching for some time in King's College, Aberdeen *, he went abroad, and studied at Poitiers in France †. On his return to Scotland he was warmly recommended to the young King, by Buchanan ‡; and it seems to have been in consequence of this recommendation, that he was appointed Commissary of Angus and the Carse of Gowrie, which were disjoined from the Commissariot of St Andrews in the year 1580, and erected into a separate jurisdiction. But the new court was soon suppressed, in consequence of the opposition made to it by the Commissary and Magistrates of St Andrews §. In 1584, Rollock was brought from Dundee ||, and continued head master of the High School

* Orem's Description of Old Aberdeen, p. 159.

† Delitiae Poet. Scot. ii. 350, 351. comp. Buchanani Epist. pp. 13, 21. In a MS. Catalogue of Scottish Writers, (to be found in the Advocates Library, in the same volume with Charters' Account of Scottish Divines) Hercules Rollock is said to have published, "Panegyrim de Pace in Gallia constituenda. Pictavi 1576." He had also been some time in England. Delit. ut sup. p. 361.

‡ Buchanani Epist. p. 29.

§ Record of Privy Council, January 12. 1580.

|| May 29. 1584. Record of Town Council of Edin. vol. vii.

of Edinburgh for eleven years, at the end of which he was displaced in consequence of some offence which was taken at his conduct *. On his removal from the High School he obtained an office in the Court of Session, and was patronised by the King †. He was suspected of being the author of a lampoon against Bruce and the other ministers who were banished at the time of the tumult which happened in the capital ; on which account Melville attacked him, in several stinging epigrams, as a mercenary poet, and a starved schoolmaster turned lawyer. Poets are not disposed to brook an affront. Rollock replied ; and in a poem, more distinguished for its length than its vigour, denied the charge, and vindicated his character †. Whatever might be his imprudences or personal foibles, he certainly contributed to raise the character of the useful seminary over which he had presided §.

¶ 90. On the 17th of April 1588, his salary was augmented "from 50 to 100 pundis." (Ib. vol. viii. f. 149, b. 150.)

* Record of Town Council, vol. x. f. 71. Rollock imputes his dismissal to the ignorance of the citizens, who were incapable of appreciating the excellence of his instructions, so superior to those of ordinary pedagogues ; and he represents the school as sinking, at his removal, into the barbarism from which he had recovered it. (Delit. Poet. Scot. ii. 339.)

† Delit. ut supra.

‡ Ibid. p. 117. comp. p. 337 In the catalogue of Books presented to the University of Edinburgh, by Drummond of Hawthornden, (p. 24.) is the following article : " Ad Herculem Rollocum responsio Andreae Melvini. MS autogr." But the MS is not now to be found.

§ The magistrates appear to have been sensible of this ; for

Alexander Hume, who succeeded to the rectorship of the High School, if not so good a poet as Rollock, was a superior grammarian, and a more acceptable teacher *. He has himself informed us, that he was descended of the ancient family of the Humes, acquired the knowledge of the Latin language under the well-known Andrew Simson at Dunbar, went through the course of philosophy at St Andrews, and afterwards spent sixteen years in England, partly in studying at the University of Oxford, and partly in teaching †. His theological

on the 20th of February 1600, they gave an allowance to "the Relict and bairns of Mr Hercules Rollock." (Council Register, vol. x. f. 270.)

* Crawford's Hist. of the Univ. of Edin. p. 64. His appointment was in April 23. 1596. Council Register, vol. x. ff. 75, 76

† *Grammatica Nova, ut infra: Ad Lectorem.* To his treatise on the Lord's Supper is prefixed an Epistle "To Mr John Hamilton his olde Regent." Three persons of the name of *Alexander Hume* studied, about the same time, in St Mary's College, St Andrews. One of them was laureated in 1571, another in 1572, and the third was made bachelor of arts in 1574. These were most probably the individuals who afterwards became Minister of Dunbar, Master of the High School of Edinburgh, and Minister of Logie; for I have no doubt that these were different persons. The first can be traced by authentic records, as minister of Dunbar, from 1582 to at least 1602. "Mr Alexander home, minister, was presented to the personage of Dunbar vacant be demission of Mr Andro Sympsoun. Sept. 13. 1582." (Reg. of Presentations, vol. ii. f. 77.) He still held that situation on the 30th of Dec. 1601. (Record of the Presb. of Haddington, and Book of Assignment.) The second was minister "at Logie the 16. of Februarie 1598." (Epist. Ded. to his *Hymnes or Sacred Songs.*) He continued there until, at least, 1608. (Book of Assignat. and Modific.) "Mr Alex^r home

works shall be mentioned afterwards. While he taught at Edinburgh his attention was turned to the elementary books which were at that time used in grammar schools, and he was ambitious of improving on the labours of foreigners as well as of his countrymen, Simson, Carmichael, and Duncan *. His Latin Grammar, on which he had spent many years, and which he published, after submitting it to the correction of Melville and other learned friends, did not give the satisfaction which he expected †. This was partly owing

minister at Logie, beside Stirling—hes left aue admonitione in write behinde him to the kirk of Scotland, wherin he affirms that the bishops, who were then fast riseing up, bes left the sincere ministers," &c. (Row. Hist. 94, 5.) The third was master of the High School of Edinburgh from 1596 to 1606 ; and he, I am inclined to think, was the author of all the works which appeared under the name of *Alexander Hume*, with the exception of the *Hymns*. He was incorporated at Oxford, Jan. 26. 1580, as " M. A. of St Andrews, Scotland." (Wood's *Fasti*, by Blane, 217.) Could he be the author of " *Humii Theses, Marpurgi, 1591* ?"

* " *Grammatice Latine, de Etymologia, liber secundus. Cantab 1587.*" James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, was the author of this work. Andrew Duncan, the author of various grammatical pieces, (Ames, by Herbert. iii. 1515, 1516, 1518.) was minister of Crail, and one of those who were banished to France for holding the Assembly at Aberdeen.

† " *Grammatica nova in usum juventutis Scoticæ ad methodum revocata. Ab Alexandre Humeo ex antiqua, & Nobili Gente Humeorum artium Magistro. Et auctoritate senatus, omnibus Regni Scholis imperata. Edinburgi—1612.*" 12mo (Copy in the Library of the High School of Edinburgh.) The words here printed in Italics are not in the common copies. The author had previously published *Latin Rudiments*. (Gram. Part. ii. p. 25) The tract entitled *Bellum Grammaticale* was not composed, but

to prejudice against innovation, and partly to the author's having sacrificed ease and perspicuity to logical precision in the arrangement and definitions. But, although less adapted for youth, the work displays much knowledge of the principles of grammar, and, in this respect, could not fail to be useful to teachers and advanced scholars. The privy council, in pursuance of an act of parliament, enjoined it to be used in all the schools of the kingdom; an injunction which was defeated by the interest of the bishops, whose displeasure the author had incurred, and by the persevering opposition of Ray, who succeeded to his place in the High School *.

During the incumbency of Hume, "the form and order" of the High School were fixed, and a code of laws, drawn up by a committee of learned

only revised by Hume. It is a humorous trag-i-comedy, in which the different Parts of Speech are arrayed on opposite sides, in a contest concerning the respective claims of the Noun and Verb to priority. It is probable that it was acted by the boys in schools. He left behind him, in MS. a compend of Buchanan's History (In Bibl. Jurid. Edin.) and a grammatical tract, probably in defence of his own Grammar. (Ruddimanni Bibl. Rom. p. 61. Sibbald, *De Script. Scot.* p. 3.)

* *Grammat. Part. ii. Ad Lect. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. iv.* 157, 374. Hume, in a letter to Melville, Dec. 6. 1612. gives an account of the opposition which his work had encountered. (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 309.) Casaubon, in a letter to Hume, denies having prepossessed the King against his Grammar, but does not conceal his disapprobation of it. (Casauboni Epistolæ, ab Almeloveen, epist. 878.) That learned man, however, does injustice to the work, when he represents it as an imitation of Ramus. Hume expressly allows that Ramus had not succeeded in Grammar. (Grammat. Part. i. *Ad Lect.*)

men, and intended to regulate the mode of teaching and the government of the youth, received the sanction of the town-council. The school was divided into four classes, to be taught separately by four masters, one of whom was the principal. The boys passed from one master to another at the end of each year ; a plan which has not the same recommendations when applied to the teaching of a single language than it has when applied to the different branches of philosophy. By these laws the Humanity class in the College was also regulated, and Greek was appointed to be taught in it as well as Latin. Before the year 1616, a fifth class was established in the High School, and during their attendance on it the boys were initiated into Greek grammar *.

In the year 1606, Hume relinquished his situation in Edinburgh, and became principal master of the grammar school at Prestonpans, which had been recently founded by John Davidson. The exertions which Davidson made to provide for the religious and literary instruction of his parish entitle him to the most grateful remembrance. At his own expence he built a church and a manse, a school-house and a dwelling-house for the master. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew ; and the founder destined all his heritable and moveable property, including his books, to the support and ornament of the trilingual academy †. Similar endow-

* See Note M.

† See Note N.

ments were made by others * ; and there is reason to think, that, in not a few instances, the funds which benevolent individuals bequeathed for the promotion of learning were clandestinely retained, or illegally alienated from their original destination, by the infidelity and avarice of executors and trustees. Several acts of the legislature were made to prevent such abuses †.

In investigating the progress which science made in Scotland during this period, the first thing which strikes us is the introduction of the Ramean philosophy, and its general substitution in the room of the Aristotelian. The influence which Ramus had in the advancement of philosophy has not, in my opinion, had that importance attached to it by modern writers which it deserves. In forming an estimate of the degree in which any individual has contributed to the illumination of the age in which he lived, it is necessary to take into account something more than the character of his opinions viewed in themselves: we must shew that they were brought fairly and fully into contact with public opinion, and attend to the circumstances which combined to aid or to

* John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, endowed a school, and made provision for the poor, within his parish. (Letter from him to the General Assembly, Nov. 16. 1602. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. iii. 2. 17. f. 156.) "The King's Scole of Dunkeld," founded Feb. 22. 1567. (Reg. of Presentations, vol. i. f. 5.) was ratified by Parliament in 1606. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 313.)

† Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 94; v. 22.

neutralize their effect. By a close examination of the writings of such men as Bruno and Cardan, we may discover here and there a sentiment akin to a truer philosophy; but then these sentiments appear to have struck their minds during certain lucid intervals, and are buried in a farrago of fantastic, extravagant, and unintelligible notions, which must have discredited them with every sober thinker. They are to be viewed rather as curious phenomena in the history of individuals than as indications of the progress made by the human mind. There are three grand events in the modern history of philosophy. The first is the revival of literature, which, by promoting the study of the original writings of the ancients, rescued the Aristotelian philosophy from the barbarism and corruption which it had contracted during the middle ages. The second is the emancipation of the human mind from that slavish subjection to authority under which it had been long held by a superstitious veneration for the name of Aristotle. The third is the introduction of, what is commonly called, the inductive philosophy. In the progress of the human mind, it behoved the two former to precede the latter. In bringing about the first a multitude of persons in all parts of Europe had co-operated with nearly equal zeal. The merit of effecting the second is in a great measure due to one individual. The Platonic school which was founded in the fifteenth century did not produce any extensive or permanent effects on the mode of study and philosophizing. It originated in

literary enthusiasm ; its disciples were chiefly confined to Italy ; and they contented themselves with pronouncing extravagant and rapturous panegyrics on the divine Plato. Valla, Agricola *, Vives, and Nizolius had pointed out various defects in the reigning philosophy, and recommended a mode of investigating truth more rational than that which was pursued in the schools. But they had not succeeded even in fixing the attention of the public on the subject. The attack which Ramus made on the Peripatetic philosophy was direct, avowed, powerful, persevering, and irresistible. He possessed an acute mind, acquaintance with ancient learning, an ardent love of truth, and invincible courage in maintaining it. He had applied with avidity to the study of the logic of Aristotle ; and the result was a conviction, that it was an instrument utterly unfit for discovering truth in any of the sciences, and answering no other purpose than that of scholastic wrangling and digladiation. His conviction he communicated to the public ; and, in spite of all the resistance made by ignorance and prejudice, he succeeded in bringing over a great part of the learned world to his views. What Luther was in the church, Ramus was in the schools. He overthrew the infallibility of the Stagyrite, and proclaimed the right of mankind to think for them-

* Ramus acknowledges that he was indebted for more accurate views of Logic to Rudolphus Agricola, and that he learned them from Sturmius, one of Agricola's scholars. (Prefat. in Schol. Grammat.)

selves in matters of philosophy, a right which he maintained with the most undaunted fortitude, and which he sealed with his blood *. If Ramus had not shaken the authority of the long venerated *Organon* of Aristotle, the world might not have seen the *Novum Organum* of Bacon. The faults of the Ramean system of Dialectics have long been acknowledged. It proceeded upon the radical principles of the logic of Aristotle; its distinctions often turned more upon words than things; and the artificial method and uniform partitions which it prescribed in treating every subject, were unnatural, and calculated to fetter, instead of forwarding, the mind in the discovery of truth. But it discarded many of the useless speculations, and much of the unmeaning jargon respecting predicables, predicaments, and topics, which made so great a figure in the ancient logic. It inculcated upon its disciples the necessity of accuracy and order in arrang-

* "Easdem in religionis restitutione judiciorum remoras actas nostra experta est. Quapropter per Deum optimum maximum, Logicæ artis professores exhortor, ut philosophiæ veritatem pluris quam philosophi ullius autoritatem faciant.—Tales denique sint in Aristotele cognoscendo et interpretando, qualis Aristoteles in Platone fuit. Unum enim id illis exopto, ut Aristoteles ipsi sibi sint, vel Aristotele etiam præstantiores magistri: sicut Aristoteles nimis Plato alter easse, aut etiam Platone præstantior esse voluit." (Rami Animad. in Organ. Aristotelis, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 66. edit. Francof. 1594.) Those who wish to understand the spirit of Ramus, and his inducements to embark in the cause of philosophical reform, should read the whole of the 13th chapter of the 4th book of his *Animadversiones*. Brucker has given extracts from it. (Hist. Philos. tom. v. pp. 566—9.)

ing their own ideas and in analysing those of others*. And, as it advanced no claim to infallibility, submitted all its rules to the test of practical usefulness, and set the only legitimate end of the whole logical apparatus constantly before the eye of the student, its faults were soon discovered, and yielded readily to a more improved method of reasoning and investigation.

The eloquence of Ramus, added to the novelty of his opinions and the ardour and boldness with which he maintained them, had a fascinating influence on his students. Foreigners, who attended his lectures in the university of Paris, carried his peculiar sentiments along with them to their respective countries. Within a few years after his death his writings were known through Europe; and Ramism, as the new mode of philosophizing was called, was publicly taught in some of the principal universities of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, and Britain †. I formerly stated that Melville studied under him, and that on his return to his native

* Bacon, who was anxious to disclaim connection with this "neoteric rebel against Aristotle," (*Cetulina Cathegum?*) acknowledges the merits of Ramus on this head. "Methodus veluti scientiarum architectura est: atque hac in parte melius meruit Ramus," &c. (De Augm. Scient. lib. vi. cap. 2.)

† Brucker, Hist. Philes. tom. v. pp. 576—581. Bayle, Dict. art. De la Ramée, Note O. Melch. Adami Vite Germ. Philes. p. 509. Casp. Brantius, Vita Jac. Arminii, p. 16. Scaliger. Thuanus, &c. tom. ii. 352, 527. Ramus's Logic was lectured on at Cambridge in 1590. (Dillingham, Vita Chadertonii et Usserii, p. 15.) And various editions of his works were published in England before the year 1600. (Ames, by Herbert, *passim*.)

country, he introduced his master's system of Logic into the university of Glasgow *. It continued to be taught there under his successor, Patrick Sharp †. At St Andrews, however, it met with the most determined resistance. It is a striking proof of the ascendancy which the name of Aristotle had gained over the human mind, that his philosophy continued long to maintain its ground in the greater part of the protestant schools. When Luther had attacked it with his usual vehemence, his colleague Melanchthon interposed for its protection. From attachment to it, the members of the Academy of Geneva refused to admit Ramus into their number, during the time that Melville resided in that city ‡. It was not until the year 1583, that the General Assembly of the church of Scotland gave public warning against sentiments eversive of religion contained in books which were put into the hands of all the youth §. And twenty years after every vestige of papal authority had been abolished in the University of St Andrews, Melville had almost excited a tumult in it by calling in question the infallibility of a Heathen philosopher. But he ultimately succeeded in effecting a reform on the philosophical creed at St Andrews ||. Rollock, who became a convert to the new philosophy, introduced it into the College of Edin-

* See above vol. i. pp. 23, 72.

† Riveti Opera, tom. iii. p. 897.

‡ Bezae Epistolæ, epp. 34, 36. Brantius, Vita Arminii, pp. 21, 22.

§ Petrie, P. ii. p. 439.

|| See above, vol. i. p. 259.

burgh, in which it continued long to be taught *. The writings of Aristotle were not, however, banished from our universities, and his authority appears to have revived at St Andrews after Melville's removal †.

Theological learning made great advancement during this period. Formerly no commentary on Scripture, and no collection of Sermons, had appeared in Scotland. This blank was now filled up by the writings of Rollock and Bruce. The former published commentaries on the most of the New Testament, and on some parts of the Old, which were speedily reprinted on the continent, with warm recommendations by Beza and other foreign divines ‡. They are not distinguished for critical learning (although they contain occasional remarks on the original) nor do they discover deep research; but they are perspicuous, succinct, and judicious. Rollock's trea-

* Adamsoni Prefat. in Fermæi Anal. Epist. ad Romanos. Crawfurd's Hist. of Univ. of Edin. pp. 58—60. Bower's Hist. vol. i. Append. No. iii. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions an early edition of Ramus's Logic by one of our countrymen: "Rolandus Mackilmenæus Scotus, P. Rami Dialecticæ libri duo. Lond. 1576. 8vo." (De Script. Scot. p. 152.) "Rollandus Makilmane Novi Collegii" was laureated at St Andrews, Feb. 10. 1569. Editions of the Dialectica were printed at Edinburgh as late as 1637 and 1640.

† William Forbes (afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh) who taught as a regent in King's College at the beginning of the 17th century, was a strenuous advocate for the Aristotelian philosophy. (Bayle, Dict. art. *Forbes, Guiz.*)

‡ Beza's recommendation was conveyed in a letter to John Johnston, and is prefixed to "Tractatus de Vocatione—Authore Roberto Rolloco Scoto. Edinburgi 1597."

tise on *Effectual Calling* is a compendious system of divinity, and affords a favourable specimen of the manner in which he executed this part of his academical lectures. It shews, among other things, that his understanding was not led astray by admiration of the Ramean logic, and that he did not suffer a superstitious or pedantic regard to methodistic rules to usurp the place of good sense in the arrangement and communication of his ideas. His sermons, which were published from notes taken by some of his hearers, exhibit him in a very amiable light, as “.condescending to men of low estate,” and keeping sacredly in view the proper end of preaching, the instruction and salvation of the people, and not the display of the learning, the ingenuity, or the eloquence of the preacher *. Bruce was a man of a

* “Certaine Sermons vpon severall places of the Epistles of Paul. Preached be M. Robert Rollock—Edinb. 1599.” The epistle “To the Christiane Reader” prefixed to these Sermons, was probably written by James Melville, who subscribes the Scottish Sonnets which follow it.

Thy divine Doctor dearest now is deid,
 Thy peirles Preicher now has plaide his part.
 Thy painfull Paster, quha in loue did leid
 Thy little lambes with sweit and tender hart,
 Hes dred his dayes with sair and bitter smart,
 To purchase pleasand profit unto thee.
 His words, his warks, his wayes, his vertues gart
 Thee get this gaine of great felicitie.

Rollock, by his testament, appointed such of his manuscripts as should be thought worthy of publication to be dedicated to his friend Sir William Scot of Elie, Director of the Chancery.

stronger mind than Rollock. His sermons, particularly those on the sacraments, are more elaborately composed, more doctrinal and argumentative, more calculated to lead "on to perfection" those who are already grounded in the principles of religion, and whose spiritual senses are "exercised to discern between good and evil." He possessed at the same time the faculty of making himself understood on the most intricate subjects, and his sermons discover the same unction which recommended those of his pious colleague*. Rollock's manner in the pulpit was mild, affectionate, and winning: Bruce's was solemn, impressive, and commanding; and, to apply to his sermons the reverse of the figure by which one of his hearers described his prayers, "every sentence was like a bolt shot from heaven." It is commonly supposed that the public discourses of the presbyterians at this time were protracted

Scot wrote to Boyd of Trochrig at Saumur: (Edin. Mar. 3. 1609.) "Please to receive Rollocus prayers as he utterit them in pulpit before and after sermons.—I am presently in hand with Rollocus sermons on John's Evangel.—I will earnestly request you to cause print in one great volume all Rollocus Latine works." Speaking of Boyd's works, he adds: "If they were in this country, as I did to Rollocus, their printing should be no charge to you." (Letter in Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 42. MSS. vol. v.)

* Bruce's Five Sermons on the Sacrament were printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave in 1590; and his miscellaneous sermons came from the same press in 1591. Both volumes, as well as a number of Rollock's treatises, were afterwards translated into English. In their original form they are curious as specimens of composition in the Scottish language, within a few years of the time at which it was generally laid aside by authors.

to a tedious length. The facts which have come to my knowledge lead to an opposite conclusion ; and I have no doubt that the practice referred to was introduced at a later period *.

The attention now paid to the learned languages in all our colleges laid the foundation for the critical study of the Scriptures. It is to be lamented that the disputes in which the ministers were involved, and the hardships which many of them suffered, should have diverted them from this study at a time when individuals had begun to cultivate it with enthusiasm. Among these Robert Wallace, minister of St Andrews and afterwards of Tranent, deserves to be particularized †. The only work which Patrick Sharp, principal of the College of Glasgow, left behind him does not afford a proof of those literary acquirements which it is known he possessed ‡. He was the teacher of John Cameron, whose

* Burnet says that Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh had " a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time." (Hist. of his own Times, i. 27.) But the following extract will shew that Forbes's tediousness, even when not carried to this extreme, gave offence to his brethren at an early period. " The said daye Mr. Willame forbes regent exercisit, quha was comended, but censurit becaus he techt two hours. Na additione, becaus of the hour was past" (Record of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Nov. 1. 1605.) Speaking of Bruce, Livingston says : " He was both in public and private very short in prayer with others.—I have heard him say, he hath wearried when others have been longeome in prayer." (Charact. art. *Mr Robert Bruce.*)

† Casauboni Epistola, ab Almel. p. 669.

‡ " Doctrinae Christianae brevis explicatio. Authore Patricio Sharpio, Theologiz professore in Academia Glasvense. Edin-

proficiency in Greek literature excited astonishment on the continent, and whom bishop Hall pronounced "the most learned man ever Scotland produced *." Cameron was a subtle theologian, and displayed much critical acumen in the interpretation of the Scriptures. He was not more distinguished by his writings, than by the circumstance of his having formed the opinions of Amyrald, who divided the French protestants on the point of Universal Grace, and of Capellus, who attained to great celebrity as the founder of a new school in Hebrew philology and criticism †. Robert Boyd of Trochrig was a contemporary of Cameron, and like him taught both in the academies of France and of his native country ‡. His *Prelections on the Epistle to the Ephesians* contain some good critical remarks, as well as many eloquent passages; and it is to be regretted that he

dvrgi Excudebat Robertvs Walde-graue, 1599." 8vo. Pp. 287. This is an explication of the three first chapters of Genesis, the Apostles' Creed, Institution of the Lord's Supper, Decalogue and Lord's Prayer.

* Capelli Icon Joan. Cameronis, pref. Oper. Genev. 1642. In 1598 Joannes Cameroun was laureated at Glasgow, and in 1599 he was admitted one of the regents.

† Lewis Capell to Boyd of Trochrig, Sept. 15. 1618. (Wedrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 80.) Riveti opera, tom. iii. p. 896.

‡ "Robertus Boyd" was laureated at Edinburgh in 1595. To his signature in the Album is added, in another hand, "Min' verb. in Gallia postea prof. theol. et primarius Acad. Glasg. dein Edinb."

should have rendered the work heavy and repulsive by indulging, according to a practice then common among the continental commentators, in long digressions, for the sake of illustrating general doctrines and determining the controversies of the time. The Hebrew language being now regularly taught in all our universities, several individuals attained to proficiency in it *. Patrick Simson acquired it in his old age †; and his brother, William Simson, undertook to explain one of the abstrusest parts of its philology, in the first work on Hebrew literature which appeared in Scotland ‡.

* Wodrow's Life of John Scrimger, p. 18. and Livingston's Charact. art. *William Aird*. In the Nova Fundatio of King's College, and in the Charter of Marischal College, Aberdeen, it is ordained that the Principal shall be skilled in Hebrew and Syriac, which the patrons wished to propagate.

† Archibald Simson's Life of Patrick Simson, MS. in the Advocates' Library.

‡ "Gul. Simponius edidit breves et perspicuas Regulas de Accentibus Hebraicis. 12mo. Londinj. 1617." (Sibbald De Script. Scot. p. 7.) This work (which I have not seen) is also mentioned in the *Epistle Dedicatory* to "The Destruction of inbred-corruption, or the Christian's warfare against his bosome enemy—by Mr Alexander Symson late minister of God's word at Merton in Scotland, Lond. 1644." 12mo. The reader may be pleased to see the following extract from that dedication. "The Author (Alexander Symson) was the last branch of that goodly vine that overspread the whole land: his father, Master Andrew Symson, minister of Dunbar, being one of the first that opposed Popery, (under whom some of the ancient Nobilitie, and many of the Gentry and Clergy of Scotland were educated, of whom not a few proved worthy Instruments for the advancement of Gods glory in Church and Common-wealth): As his Brothers, Master Matthew who died young; Master Patrick, Minister of Strivel-

The *Hieroglyphica** of Archibald Simson, which treat of the different branches of natural history mentioned in Scripture, shew the learning of the author; but his fancy led him, in this as well as in his other works, to expatiate in the field of allegory †. The works of Patrick Simson contain a

ing, who wrote *The History of the Church*, thrice printed; Master William, Minister of Dumbarton, who wrote *De Hebraicis Accentibus*; Master Archibald, Minister of Dalkeith, who wrote of the *Creation*, *Christs seven words on the Crosse*, *Samsons seven locks of haire*, *The seven Penitentiall Psalms*, *Hieroglyphica animalium terrestrium*, &c. with a *Chronicle of Scotland*, in Latine, not yet printed; Master Abraham, Minister of Norham."

* " Hieroglyphica Animalium Terrestrivm, Volatilium, &c. quae in Scripturis Sacris inveniuntur.—Per Archibaldum Simsonum Dalkeithensis Ecclesiae Pastorem. Edin. 1622." 4to. The first part is confined to Animals. The second and third parts, which treat of Fowls and Fishes, appeared in 1623. And in 1624, that which relates to Reptiles and Insects followed, under the name of " Tomvs Secvndvs."

† Drummond, the poet, appears to have been pleased with the allegorical writings of Symson; as he has encomiastic verses at the beginning of several of them. The following are prefixed to " Heptameron: The Sevin Dayes—By M. A. Symson, Minister at Dalkeith. Sanct-Andrews Printed by Edward Raban, Printer to the Universitie. 1621." sm. 8vo.

God binding with hid Tendons this great ALL,
Did make a LVTE, which had all parts it given:
This LVTES round Bellie was the azur'd Heauen;
The Rose those Lights which He did there install:

The Basses were the Earth and Ocean:
The Treble shrill the Aire: the other Strings,
The unlike Bodies, were of mixed things:
And then His Hand to breake sweete Notes began.

succinct History of the Christian Church, written in a style which, though not correct, is spirited, and breathes a classical air. Robert Pont, whose learning was various, had paid particular attention to the study of Sacred Chronology, which he illustrated in several treatises*. Alexander Hume, of whom we have spoken as a grammarian, entered the lists as a polemical writer against members both of the Romish and of the English Church †.

Those iostie Concordis did so farre rebound,
That Floods, Rocks, Meadows, Forrests did them heare :
Birds, Fishes, Beasts danc'd to their siluer sound.
Onlie to them Man had a deafned Eare.

Now him to rouse from sleep so deepe and long,
God wak'ned hath the Eccho of this Song.

W. D.

* "A Newe Treatise of the right Reckoning of yeares and ages of the World—By M. Robert Pont an aged Pastour of the Kirk of Scotland.—Edin. 1599." This is different from his work " De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis. Lond. 1619." Charters also ascribes to him " Chronologiam de Sabbatis. Lond. 1626." His son, *Timothy Pont*, was of great assistance in drawing up the description and maps of Scotland which appeared in Bleau's Atlas. (Memor. Balfouriana, pp. 6. 36.) " Mr Timothie pont mis' of Dwnet," and " Mr Zacharie pont mis' of Bowar Wattie," in Caithness, occur in the Books of Assignment and Modification of Stipends for the years 1601—1608.

† An account of his controversy with Dr Adam Hill, on the article of the Creed concerning Christ's descent into Hell, may be seen in Wood's *Athenae*, by Bliss, i. 622—4. The following extracts relate to his *Rejoinder*, or second book against Hill. " 5 Feby. 1593. The P^{re}rie appointis thair brether M. Ro^r Bellock and M. Joⁿ Davidsoun to syt the book wittin be M. Alex^r Home concerning that part of the creit He descendit to hell, and

And John Howieson composed an elaborate answer to Bellarmine, the redoubted and far-famed champion of Rome *.

The most learned of the divines who embraced episcopacy received their education during this period. Patrick Forbes of Corse, the relation and scholar of Melville †, and who afterwards became bishop of Aberdeen, wrote an able defence of the calling of the ministers of the Reformed Churches, and a commentary on the Revelation. The discourses of William Cowper, minister of Perth and afterwards bishop of Galloway, are superior to perhaps any sermons of that age. A vein of practical piety runs through all his evangelical instructions ; the style is remarkable for ease and fluency ; and the illustrations are often striking and happy. His residence in England, during some years of the early part of his life, may have given him that

to report y^r judgement y^e xiith of this Instant." " 12th Feby. 1593.—the said brether reporting y^r judgements of the sufficiencie of y^e wark hes approoit y^e same, and finds it may be prentit." (Record of Presb. of Edinburgh.) His book against the Roman Catholics is entitled " Of the Trve and Catholik meaning of our Sauiour his words this is my bodie—by Alexander Hume Maitster of the high Schoole of Edinburgh. Edin. 1602." A collection of practical treatises on *Conscience*, &c. Lond. 1594. is also ascribed to him. Wood, ut sup. Ames by Herbert, p. 1515.

* Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 201. He is the author of a treatise on *Conscience*, Edin. 1600. (Wood and Charters.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 122. Garden, *Vita Joannis Forbesii* : prefix. Oper. Wodrow's *Life of Patrick Forbes of Corse*, p. 2. MSS. vol. ii.

command of the English language by which his writings are distinguished *. Archbishop Spetswood's History of the Church of Scotland was composed at a period considerably later; but as I have been under the necessity of repeatedly calling in question its accuracy, I may take this opportunity of saying, that, as a composition, it is highly creditable to the talents of the author, and is as much superior to the historical collections of Calderwood in point of style and arrangement, as it is inferior to them in richness and variety of materials.

The progress of our literature during this period is very discernible in the department of jurisprudence. Besides his edition of the acts of parliament from the reign of James I. Sir John Skene, the Clerk Register, published for the first time, in Latin and in English, a collection of the laws and constitutions of our elder princes. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the title which some of these have to be considered as originally belonging to the Scottish code, or as to the period at which others of them were enacted, it must be acknowledged that the labours of the publisher were meritorious and valuable. He had travelled in Norway, Denmark, and adjacent countries †; and the knowledge which he acquired of the northern languages

* Life of Bishop Cowper, prefixed to his Works, Lond. 1623. fol. He was born in the year 1568, and entered the university of St Andrews in 1580. (Dikaiologie, p. 108.) He was admitted minister of Perth, Oct. 5. 1595. (Extracts from Rec. of Kirk Session of Perth, by Rev. Mr Scott.)

† Sibbaldi Bibl. Scot. p. 134.

and customs enabled him to throw light on the ancient laws and legal usages of Scotland, both in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*, and in his notes on the *Regiam Majestatem* *. Sir Thomas Craig was as much superior to Skene in vigour of mind and in acquaintance with the principles of law, as he was inferior to him in the knowledge of the ancient statutory and consuetudinary laws of his country†. His book *De Feudis* was the first regular treatise on law composed in Scotland. It is written with great elegance and in a philosophical spirit; and the author of such a masterly performance could not fail, during his long practice at the bar, to raise the character of the profession, and to diffuse enlightened and liberal views among his brethren. William Wellwood, who was not per-

* When the *Regiam Majestatem* was put to press, "Hading non so meit as Mr James Carmicheall minister at Haddingtoune —to examine and espy and correct such errors and faults yrin as vauallie occures in every ptng that first cumis from the presse," the Lords of Privy Council applied to his presbytery to dispense with his absence from his charge, "the space of tua monethis or theraby". (Letter to the presbyterie of hadingtoune; Oct. 13. 1608. in Lord Haddington's Coll.) There is a poem by Carmichael at the end of the Scotch translation of the work.

† Craig has certainly failed in illustrating the peculiar form which the feudal law had assumed in Scotland; and in referring to ancient laws, and to decisions anterior to his own practice, he proceeds usually on the information of his older brethren. But perhaps the censures which a late writer has pronounced on him are too summary and indiscriminate. The charge of ignorance brought against him, on the head of the civil law being taught in this country, will, I apprehend, turn out on examination to be unfounded. (Ross's Lectures on the Law of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 9.)

mitted to continue his lectures on law at St Andrews, published several useful and compendious treatises, which entitle him to a place among the juridical writers of the age. His *Parallel* exhibits a clear view of the points of resemblances between the Jewish and Roman codes, but unaccompanied with reflections*. His tract on Ecclesiastical Processes may be viewed as the first specimen of a *Form of Process*, which the Church of Scotland did not as yet possess †. His *Abridgement of Sea-laws* has the merit of being the first regular treatise on maritime jurisprudence which appeared in Britain, and led him to take part in a controversy which called forth the talents and erudition of a Grotius and a Selden ‡.

The name of Wellwood is also connected with

* “Iuris Divini Iudiciorum, ac Iuris Civilis Romanorum Parallela.—Avthore Gvilielmo Velvod. Lvgd. Bat. 1594.” 4to.

† Its title has been given above. (p. 119.) It was intended to distinguish between the forms of procedure used in civil courts and those which ought to be used in church courts—as to citations—the mode of trial—and appeals.

‡ “An Abridgment of all Sea-laws:—By William Wellwood, professor of the Ciuiti Lawe. London. 1613.” 4to. It was reprinted, but without the author’s name, by Malynes, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, Lond. 1686. The Latin edition of this Abridgement, which appears to have been published before 1613, I have not seen. That part of it which relates to the controverted question was re-published under the following title: “De Dominio Maris,—Cosmopoli, Excudebat G. Fonti-silvius 16. Calend. Januar. 1615.” 4to. An edition of it was printed at the Hague in 1663; and in the course of that year there appeared an answer to it by Theod. J. F. Graswinckel, a Dutch lawyer, who wrote against the *Mare Clausum* of Selden.

the progress of physics and the arts. He possessed an inquisitive mind ; and in all his disquisitions we can trace a commendable desire to convert his knowledge to the good of mankind *. While he taught mathematics at St Andrews, he obtained from government a patent for a new mode of raising water with facility from wells and low grounds †. He afterwards published an account of his plan, and of the principles upon which he calculated that it would produce the intended effect. This publication is a curious specimen of the state in which the science of hydraulics was at that time, and of those experiments by which its true principles came to be gradually discovered and applied ‡. The chrono-

* He was the author of a treatise of practical theology : “ *Ars Domandarvm Perturbationvm ex solo Dei verbo quasi transcripto constructa. Avthore Gvilielmo Velvod. Middelbvrgi, 1594.* ” Svo. pp. 62. The Dedication to John, Earl of Cassilis, “ *Collegiad Andreapolin quod Saluatorianum cognominant Patrono,* ” is dated “ *Ex Academia Andreana, Calen. Maijs. 1594.* ”

† “ Knawing alsua that the advancement of curious and quick spreittis yat heirtofor hes be their singulare ingyne inventit—ony perfyct art or devise—is gretelie to be helpit, fauourd and supportit—thairfor vnderstanding yat his hienes belouit clerkis Mr W^m Walwode and Mr John Geddy—hes be yair awin singular moyen naturall industrie curious Ingynis and knawledge in sciences Inventit—an easie perfite and suddane way of elevationn of watteris out of coill pottis sinkis and vtheris low places, heirtofor nevir bard or at the liest nevir put in practize within this his hienes realme, &c. Gevand license &c.” Nov. 13. 1577. (Record of Privy Seal, vol. 44. f. 116.)

‡ “ *Gvilielmi Velvod De Aqva in altum per fistulas plumbeas facile exprimenda apologia demonstrativa. Edinburgi Apud Alexandrum Arbuthnetum, Typographum Regium, 1582.* ” Six leaves in 4to. The dedication is dated “ *Andreapolii pridie nosae*

nological works of Robert Pont confirm the testimonies borne to his skill in mathematics and astronomy *. But the individual who left all his contemporaries far behind him in such pursuits, and who reflected the highest honour on his country, was John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of

Nonenbris 1582." Prefixed to it is a copy of verses by Melville. If Welwood had persevered in his experiments he might have accidentally made the discovery which afterwards occurred to Galileo. He proposed to produce the effect by means of a leaden pipe bent into a syphon and extended on the exterior so as to discharge the water at a point below the surface of the well. Having shut up the two extremities of the pipe, he introduces water into both its legs, by an aperture at the upper point or elbow of the syphon, till they are completely full; and then closing this aperture with great exactness, and opening both ends of the syphon, he maintains that the water will flow out of the exterior, or longer leg, as long as there is any in the well. It cannot, he argues, flow out of the short leg, for it has no head or difference of level to give it the power of issuing in that direction: It cannot flow out of both legs at the same time; for then it behoved to separate somewhere in the middle, which, according to him, is impossible, as *nature abhors a vacuum*: Therefore, it must flow out of the well by the longer leg. The well is supposed to be 45 cubits deep; for our author was not possessed of the important fact that water will not rise to a height above 33 feet. In other respects the principles of his demonstration are not more unscientific than those which Galileo would have employed sixty years after the time of Wellwood.—In the year 1598, the parliament granted to two individuals the sole right of making certain "pompis for raising and forceing of water:is—furth of mynes, &c." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 176.)

* Sibbaldi Bibl. Scot. p. 224. Pont was the intimate friend of the Laird (why give him the false title of *Lord*, or the equivocal one of *Baron*?) of Merchiston:—"honoratum & apprime eruditum amicum nostrum fidelem Christi seruum Joannem Naperum." (De Sabbaticorum Auctorum Periodis, per Robertum Pontanum, Caledonium Britannum, p. 198. A° 1619.)

the Logarithmic calculation ; an invention, which, more than any other, has contributed to extend the boundaries of knowledge, and to multiply discoveries in all branches of natural philosophy ; and which, at the same time that it establishes the author's claim to the highest genius, proves that he had devoted himself with the most persevering ardour to the study of mathematical science. Previously, indeed, to his making his great discovery, Napier was well known to his countrymen for his profound acquaintance with mathematics, his application of them to the improvement of the arts, and the curious and bold experiments which his active and inventive mind was continually prompting him to make *.

When the elder Scaliger visited Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century, it did not contain, according to his statement, more than one regular practitioner in Medicine. If we are to judge by this rule, the science must have made great advancement before the close of that century. At this time, however, and down to a much later period, the medical men of Scotland derived their professional knowledge almost entirely from foreign schools. Dr Peter Lowe, who, after practising in various parts of the continent, and being honoured with the ap-

* Skene, *De Verborum Significatione, voc. Particata.* Birrell's Diary, p. 47. Tilloch's Philosophical Magazine, vol. xviii. p. 53 ; where Napier's "Secret Inventions" are published, accompanied with observations, which go to prove that none of these inventions are incredible. Dempster says that Napier dissipated his fortune by his experiments.

pointment of Ordinary Surgeon to Henry IV. of France, returned to his native country before the year 1598, was the author of a system of Surgery, which exhibits a popular view of the art of healing in his time, interspersed with descriptions of cases which had occurred in his own practice *. Dr Duncan Liddel, whose treatises on various subjects connected with medicine were well received on the continent, was prematurely cut off in the midst of his exertions for promoting science in his native country †.

Among the miscellaneous writers of this period David Hume of Godscroft, one of Melville's early and most intimate friends, deserves to be particularly mentioned ‡. This accomplished and patriotic

* "The Whole Course of Chyrurgie—Compiled by Peter Lowé Scotcliman. Arelian Doctor in the Facultie of Chirurgie in Paris—A° 1597." In the Dedication of the 2d. edition to "Gilbert Primrose Sergeant Chirurgian to the Kings Majestie," &c. (dated "from my house in Glasgow the 20 day of December 1612,") he says: "It pleased his Sacred Majestie to heare my complaint, about some fourteene years agoe, vpon certaine abusers of our Art—I got a priuiledge under his Highnesse privie seale, to try and examine all men upon the Art of Chirurgie, to discharge & allow in the West parts of Scotland which were worthy or unworthy to professe the same."

† Principal Blackwell's Memorial. Liddelii Apotheosis: Delit. Poet. Scot. ii. 550. His "Disput. de Elementis" was printed at Helmstad in 1596. An edition of his works was published by L. Serranus, Lugd. Bat. 1624.

‡ He was the son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, and proprietor of Godscroft in Lammermuir. In one of his Eclogues, he says:

haud frustra tot, docte Menalca,
Carmina fusa tibi : Late nemus omne resultat
Lætitia : nunc opilio, nunc ipse bibolicus
Per juga Lamyru, vel per juga montis Ocelli.

gentleman was extensively acquainted with ancient and modern languages, theology, politics, and history *. His *Apologia Basilica* is a refutation of the celebrated *Princeps* of Machiavel, and shews that he was a true friend to monarchy, although he had repeatedly exerted himself to check its excesses by his sword and by his pen. Besides its genealogical information, his *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus* contains many useful illustrations of public events, and striking pictures of the manners of the times. Though often incorrect and loose in its style, it is written with much spirit and naïveté, and abounds with reflections, serious and amusing, political, moral and religious, which place the happy temper and virtuous dispositions of the author in a very favourable and pleasing light.

In the notes he subjoins the following explanation. "Lamyrii montes sunt in provincia Marchise, ubi villula scribentis Theager, vulgo Godscraft. Ocelli montes [Ochil hills] in Jernia forthæ imminentes ad quorum radices est *Val-acquila*, vulgo *Glenaeagles*, ipsius nunc habitaculum." (Daphn-Amaryllis Authore Davide Humio Theagrio Wedderburnensi. p. 17. Lond. 1605. John Haldane of Glenaeagles was married to his sister. (Hist. of Douglas and Angus, ii. 284.) In another of his works are poems by him inscribed " David Humius Pater"—" Maria Jhonstona Mater"—" Jacobus Jhonstonus, Elphistonius, Socr." (Lyra Poetici, pp. 50, 53.)

* Speaking of Hume, Mr Pinkerton says: "This writer, who composed his work about the year 1630, has often original and authentic information." (Hist. of Scotland, i. 216.) It is true that Hume lived nearly to the year 1630, and might finish his History in his old age, but he was born between 1550 and 1560. Being the confidential adviser and agent, as well as the kinsman, of Archibald (the third of that name) Earl of Angus, he had

The feudal ideas, which were general in his age, and the aristocratic feeling which he inherited as the descendant of an ancient family, are frequently blended with the principles of the reformer and advocate of political liberty, in a way which is both curious and amusing.

Poetry, in all its varieties, was zealously cultivated by our countrymen at this period. In richness of imagery and elegance of diction, Montgomery unquestionably carried away the palm from all his contemporaries who wrote in the Scottish dialect. Among those who devoted themselves to sacred poetry, Alexander Hunie possesses the greatest merit. Like most of the poets of that time he is very unequal; but his versification is often fluent, and his descriptions lively and even vigorous*. The *Godly Dream* of Lady Culros younger is not destitute of fancy †. James Cockburne is the author of two scarce pieces, which discover a bold but irregular and unchastised imagination ‡. The poets

access to the family papers of that nobleman, and to other valuable sources of intelligence.

* *Hymnes or Sacred Soags*.—Edinburgh, 1599.

† Of the same pious cast as the *Dream*, but inferior to it in versification, is “The Complaint of a Christian Sevle.—Printed at Edinbvrgb by Robert Charteris, 1610.” 4to, C 2. It is subscribed at the close: “M. George Muschet Minister of the Evangell at Dunning.”

‡ The first is entitled “Gabriels Salvation to Marie. Made by James Cockbvrne:” The second, “Judas Kisse to the Sonne of Marie.” The imprint of each is “Edinbvrgh Printed by Robert Charteris—An. Dom. MDCV.” 4to. The Dedication to “Jean Hammiltone, Ladie Skirling,” is dated “from Cambus-

of Scotland anticipated their sovereign's accession to the throne of England by adopting the language of that kingdom, and their early efforts of this kind were very flattering. When Melville was removed from Scotland, Drummond of Hawthornden had but recently finished his academical studies *, and, as

nethane." Prefixed are commendatory verses by "W. A. of Menstrie." The following specimen is from the second poem.

Now had darke silent night, high treasons freend,
Quermantled all the earth in sable hew:
Wrapt was the Moone in mist that latelie shynde,
The syrie lampes of heauen themselves withdrew:
Horror and darknesse vylde posset the skye,
The fittest tyme for foullest tragedye.

Within their wings sweete birds their billes they bide,
Rockt with the windes on topes of troubled trees:
Feeld-feeding flocks to cliftes and caues they slide,
Such was the raging of the roaring seyes:
No sound of comfort sweete posset the esres,
Sane Serpents hisse, and Crocodilishe teares.

In this sad season Iesos did attend
His Fathers will, and those did him persew,
Brooke Cedron corst, which way well Iudas kend,
As was his vse his prayers to renew:
And to the Mount of Olives he is gone,
With aged Peter, James, and Iouine.

O gardene gay, greene may thou euer grew,
Let weeping dew refreshe thy withred flowres:
To testifie the teares did overflow
The cheekees of him refreake the hearts of ours,
And for his sake thy name be euer neist
In name to that awset garden of the East.

* "Gvilielmvs Drummond" was fauoured at Edinburgh in the year 1605. The regent of his class was Mr James Knox.

yet, had not discovered those talents which ranked him among the first of English lyric poets. But Sir Robert Ayton, and Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, had already given favourable specimens of their poetical talents. Another knight and courtier, Sir David Murray of Gorthy, deserves also to be mentioned for the success with which he wrote in English verse *.

† "The Tragical Death of Sophonisba. Written by David Murray. Scoto-Brittaine. Lond. 1611." 8vo.—"Cælia, containing certain sonnets;" was published along with the former.—"A Paraphrase of the civ. Psalme by David Murray. Edinburgh Printed by Andro Hart. Anno Dom. 1615." 4to. Sir David was Governor to Prince Henry. He was a son of Robert Murray of Abercairny, and brother of John Murray, minister of Leith, an intimate friend of Melville's. (Douglas's Baronage, p. 102. Melvini Epist. p. 151.) His Paraphrase begins thus:

My Soule praise thou Iehouas holie Name,
For he is great, and of exceeding Might,
Who cloth'd with Glorie, maiestie, and Fame,
And couered with the garments of the light,
The azure Heauen doth like a Curtaine spred,
And in the depths his chalmer beames hath layd.

The Clouds he makes his chariot to be,
On them he wheelas the christall Skies about,
And on the wings of Zephys, doth Hee
At pleasour walke ; and sends his Angels out,
Swift Heralds that doe execute his will ;
His words the heauens with firie lightnings fill.

The Earths foundation he did firmelie place,
And layd it so that it should neuer slyde,
He made the Depths her round about embrace,
And like a Robe her naked shores to bide,
Whose waters wold o'flow the Mountains high,
But that they backe at his rebuke doe lie.

But perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of our literature at this period was the enthusiasm with which Latin poetry was cultivated by our countrymen. Divines, lawyers, physicians, country-gentlemen, courtiers and statesmen, devoted themselves to this difficult species of composition, and contended with each other in the various strains which the ancient masters of Roman song had employed. The principal poems in the collection entitled *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, were originally published, or at least written, at this time. They are of course possessed of very different degrees of merit, but of the collection in general we may say that it is equal to any of the collections of the same kind which appeared in other countries, except that which contains the Latin poems composed by natives of Italy. If this was not the classic age of Scotland, it was at least the age of classical literature in it; and at no subsequent period of our history have the languages of Greece and Rome been so successfully cultivated, or the beauties of their poetry so deeply felt and so justly imitated. Besides Melville, the individuals who attained the greatest excellence in this branch of literature were Sir Thomas Craig, Sir Robert Ayton, Hume of Godscroft, John Jonston, and Hercules Rollock. The poems of Craig do honour to the cultivated taste and learning of their author. Through the foreign garb in which Ayton chose most frequently to appear before the public as a poet, we can easily trace that elegant fancy which

he has displayed in his English compositions. If I were not afraid of appearing to detract from the merit of one whose early productions secured the approbation of Buchanan, I would say that Rollock was better acquainted with the language than the spirit of the Roman poets. His description of the miseries of Scotland during the civil war is his most poetical performance *. John Jonston confined himself chiefly to the writing of epitaphs and short pieces, which he has executed with much neatness, and often with elegant simplicity, although he falls short, even in this species of composition, of his kinsman, Arthur Jonston, in terseness and in classic point †. Few of his contemporaries shew a mind more deeply imbued with the genuine spirit of classical poetry than Hume of Godaerof. The easy structure of his verse reminds us continually of the ancient models on which it has been formed; and, if deficient in vigour, his fancy has a liveliness and buoyancy which prevents the reader from wearying of his longest descriptions ‡.

* "I send you the papers of the late M. Hercules Rollock which you desired. And because I am not acquaint with Mr Anderson, send me a receipt of them, either from you or him. Saumure, March 5. 1619. (Mark Duncan to Boyd of Trochrig: Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 80.)

† A very beautiful poem by John Jonston, entitled *More Parum*, is added, among others, to his *Consolatio Christiana*, pp. 103—106. Lugd. Bat. 1609.

‡ Hume has given a specimen of a poem which he composed at fourteen years of age. (*Daphn-Amaryllis*, pp. 22, 24.) And he refers to the prefaces which Buchanan formed from his

I am aware that many entertain a very contemptuous opinion of all productions of the kind now mentioned. According to them, it is utterly impracticable to write well, or to compose tolerable poetry, in a foreign or dead language. They are therefore disposed to discard the whole collection of modern Latin poetry, as unworthy of the name, and consisting merely of shreds from the classics patched into centos. That a great part of it is of this description cannot be denied. But those who are inclined to pronounce this censure indiscriminately upon the whole would need to be sure that there is no risk of their being placed in the same awkward situation with certain scholars of no mean acquirements in former times, who had a modern poem passed on them for a genuine production of one of the ancient classics*. After the writings of Sannazarius, Fla-

early effusions. (Delit. i. 381.) His poem entitled *Aeolanus* is dedicated "Ad Andreum Melvynum"—"Patriæ alterū decus Melvine—delictorum veniam te peto literarium Dictatorem et nominatum ~~magister~~ illi.—Si condonas, condonata putem Musis et Apollini.—Vides quid tibi tribuam; certè, quantum nec Romane pontifici in peccata, jus." (Lvras Poetici, p. 85.) *Aeolanus* was the name of one of Hume's sons. (Record of the Kirk Session of Prestonpans.)

* D'Alembert furnishes an instance somewhat different. In the course of his argument against the cultivation of ancient learning, he had jeeringly repeated the exclamation of an enthusiast for the classics, *Ah! had you but understood Greek!* But not contented with wielding the weapon of ridicule, he rashly ventured upon classical ground, and mentioned one Marinus, a modern writer in Latin, who, in his opinion, had "approached as near as possible to Cicero." One of D'Alembert's opponents, after

minies, Maretus, Buchanan, De l'Hôpital, Douay, and Balde, not to mention many others scarcely inferior to them, it seems too late to come forward with the assertion, that it is impossible to produce tolerable Latin poetry in modern times. Indeed, considering the applause which these productions have received from the best judges, the assertion amounts to this, that we cannot now perceive the beauties of the classical poets of Rome. I have no doubt that if even the best of modern Latin poems had been submitted to the judgment of Horace, he would have found them chargeable with many blemishes which our eye cannot detect; but I have as little doubt that, instead of rejecting them with the fastidious disdain of some recent critics, that Master of the art of Poetry would have pronounced them wonderful efforts, and enlarged in their favour, the indulgence which he was disposed to shew to the compositions of his contemporaries:

Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis —————

There is one thing that is overlooked in the reasonings of many on this subject. They are not aware of the degree of attention which was paid to the Latin language, and the advantages which the learned had for attaining a perfect acquaintance

producing examples of wretched Latinity from Marinus, concludes by turning the philosopher's taunt into a sarcasm against himself: *Ah! Sir, had you but understood Latin!* (Klotzii Acta Literaria, vol. v. part iv. p. 446.)

with it, in the sixteenth century. The use of the vernacular tongues was strictly prohibited in all schools and colleges; and from the age of six to sixteen the youth spoke and heard nothing but Latin. In their epistolary correspondence, and even in their ordinary conversation, the learned made use of the same medium of communication. They chose to write in it in preference to their native language; and, judging from their compositions in both, it is evident that they had a greater command of the former than of the latter.

The circumstance last mentioned furnishes one of the strongest objections against the practice in question. And it must be confessed, that it is much easier to prove that the writers of the sixteenth century attained to excellence in Latin composition, than it is to vindicate that engrossing attention to the language by which they were able to reach that excellence. It led them to neglect the cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages. It tended to produce servile imitation, and to give a spiritless uniformity to literary productions. And by forming men of letters into a separate caste, it prevented them from exerting an influence over the minds of the people at large, and deprived literature of those advantages which it derives from the free circulation of ideas and feelings among all classes of the community. But whatever disadvantages might result from this practice, we must not overlook the important advantages with which it was attended. We

never ought to forget that the refinement, and the science, secular and sacred, with which modern Europe is enriched, must be traced to the revival of ancient literature ; and that these hid treasures could not have been laid open and rendered available, but for that enthusiasm with which the languages of Greece and Rome were cultivated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The passion for writing in these languages, in verse as well as in prose, is to be viewed both in the light of an effect and a cause of the revival of letters. When we consider the rude state in which the different languages of Europe then were, and that the number of readers in any country was extremely small, we will cease to wonder that men of letters should have chosen so generally and so long to make use of a highly cultivated tongue, recommended to them by so many powerful associations, and in which their writings could be read and understood by all the learned in every nation. Besides, the great attention paid to those studies, although it retarded the improvement of modern languages, contributed ultimately to carry them to a higher pitch of cultivation than they would otherwise have attained. The accurate knowledge of the general principles of language which was thus acquired (and which cannot be so well acquired in any other way as by the study of dead or foreign languages) came to be applied to the vernacular tongues, which at the same time that they were polished after the example, were enriched from the resources of the most cultivated

languages of antiquity. The writers of that age display an elegance of taste and an elevation of sentiment, which give them an unspeakable superiority over their predecessors, and which are to be ascribed in a great measure to their familiarity with the works of the ancients. Before passing a severe censure on the avidity with which ancient letters were then prosecuted, it would be but justice also to consider the important discoveries which were made at the same time, and the stimulus which was given to the human mind in the general search after truth. Nor should it be forgotten that the study of the languages of Greece and Rome was combined with the study of the Eastern tongues, which, in addition to its throwing much light on the Sacred Scriptures, and laying open an entirely new field of taste and inquiry, has proved subservient to political purposes of the greatest magnitude, and promises to be still more extensively useful in promoting the improvement and regeneration of the largest and most populous regions of the globe.

The general question respecting the advantages of classical learning is not now before us. Suffice it to say here, that the fears which have been expressed of its tendency to injure genius by checking originality of thought, and religion by begetting a spirit and ideas of an unchristian complexion, are in a great degree fanciful and exaggerated. The greatest and the best authors whom Britain has produced have been familiar with it; and although novelty and accidental causes may

give a temporary fame to attempts which proceed on an avowed disregard of the works of the ancients, our fine writers will find it necessary at last to invigorate their genius and to purify their taste, by dipping in those fountains which helped to confer immortality on their predecessors.

The facts which have been pointed out in the course of this brief review, will, it is hoped, assist the reader in forming an idea of the state of our national literature at this period. They may perhaps convince him, that Scotland was not so late in literary improvement as is commonly imagined; that she had advanced, at the time of which we write, nearly to the same stage in this honourable career with the other nations of Europe; and that if she did not afterwards make the progress which was to be expected, or if she retrograded, this is to be imputed to other causes than to want of spirit in her inhabitants, or to the genius of her ecclesiastical constitution.

In asserting that Melville had the chief influence in bringing the literature of Scotland to that pitch of improvement which it reached at this time, I am supported by the testimony of contemporary writers of opposite parties, as well as by facts which have been stated in a former part of this work. His example and instructions continued and increased the literary impulse which his arrival from the continent first gave to the minds of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that

species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged. And though he did not himself cultivate several of the branches of study which are included in the preceding sketch, yet he stimulated others to cultivate them, by the ardour with which he inspired their minds, and by the praises which he was always ready to bestow on their exertions and performances.

CHAPTER XII.

1607—1611.

Rigour of Melville's imprisonment in the Tower—relaxed—Church of Rochelle in France applies for him—he is consulted on the Arminian controversy—fruitless negotiation for his liberty—his fortitude and cheerfulness—encourages his brethren in Scotland by his letters—his Majesty's literary employment—new attempts for Melville's liberation—his design of going to America—his literary recreations in the Tower—his pecuniary misfortune—death of his friends—matrimonial affair—ecclesiastical proceedings in Scotland—General Assembly at Glasgow—reflections on the establishment of episcopacy—Melville's fellow-prisoners—he is visited by Cameron and Casaubon—Duke of Bouillon's application for him—opposed by the court of France—desires admission into the family of Prince Henry—his friends at court—his pecuniary embarrassments—sickness—release from the Tower, and departure to France.

THE injustice of Melville's imprisonment was heightened by the unnecessary severity with which he was treated in the Tower. A pretext was found

for withdrawing the indulgence of having a servant confined along with him. No creature was allowed to see him but the person who brought him his food. He was not even permitted to beguile the tedious hours by his favourite amusement of writing. The use of paper pen and ink was strictly prohibited him *. But tyrants, though they can fetter and torment the body, have no power over the free and heaven-born soul. Melville's spirit remained unconfined and unbroken in his narrow and uncomfortable cell ; and he found means of expressing the sense which he entertained of his unmerited sufferings, and his resolution to endure the worst which his persecutors could inflict. When his apartment was examined, its walls were found covered with verses, which he had engraved, in fair and beautiful characters, with the tongue of his shoe-buckle †. In this situation he was kept for about ten months.

* *De la Boderie, Ambassades*, ii. 469.

† This fact has been preserved by a foreign writer. (Gisberti Voetii *Politica Ecclesiastica*, tom. iii. p. 52.) The verses from which he quotes are to be found in *Melvini Musæ*, p. 28.

*Cum Balamitarum sit taeta frequentia vatum,
Cur lequiter totò nullus in orbe asinus ?
Non Genius stat contra, asinus non cæditur, ora
Non reserat muto, qui dedit ora Deus.*

The following verses were also composed by him at this time :

*At vati infelici instat tibi carceris umbra,
Quin Christi illustri lumine liber ego.
Te tristi exilio, aut fato mutabit acerbo :
Nec triste exilium, mors nec acerba mibi.
Exilium a patriâ patrio me inducit Olympo
Mors pro Christo atrox vita beata mibi.*

Ib. p. 22.

James Melville was under great uneasiness lest the health of his uncle should suffer by such rigorous imprisonment, during a winter so remarkable for severity that the Thames and other rivers of England continued frozen for several months together. He was not relieved from this anxiety until the month of May 1608, when he received a letter from him written with his own hand in Greek ; thanking him for the money which he had sent him, and informing him that his health remained uninjured, and that his imprisonment was now less severe than it had been *. He was removed to a more airy and commodious apartment ; was indulged with the use of writing-materials ; and soon after was allowed to see his acquaintance. This favour he owed to the interest and exertions of his friends at court, and particularly of Sir James Sempill of Beltrees. " Through the kind offices of Sempill (says he, in a letter to his nephew) I

*Si venissens ultro, spectassem singula et ultro,
Et quiescassem ultro ; tunc mea culpa levis ?
At veni jussus, spectavi et singula jussus,
Quiescivi et jussus ; nunc mea culpa gravis ?*

* * * * *

*Hoc Belga, hoc Batavus, Germanus, Gallus et Anglus,
Hoc Liger, hoc Scotus querit, et hostis Iber
Injussus, quod jussus ego Regique Desque
Quiescivi, officio sanctus utriusque meo.
Solus ego pector, solum me fulmina tangent,
Solus ego vulgi fabula factus agor.*

lb. p. 28.

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 1, 329,

now enjoy more healthful air, though still confined in the Tower. I am put in hopes that I shall have greater liberty within a month or two on the return of *Sine quo nihil*; you know whom I mean, your friend, forsooth, who did not even deign to salute you lately*. Don't you admire the man's prudence and caution†?"

In the end of the year 1607, and before he had obtained this mitigation of his confinement, the protestants of Rochelle in France attempted to obtain him to their College, as professor of Divinity. With this view they gave a commission to Gilbert Primrose, a Scotsman, who had been for some time minister at Bourdeaux, and was then on a visit to Britain†; authorizing him to deal with King James to set Melville at liberty and allow him to come to them. James excused himself from complying with this request, by alleging that he had not yet resolved how to dispose of the prisoner. This negotiation gave offence to the French court. Their ambassador at London received instructions to make particular inquiry into the facts. Primrose, on returning to France, was called before the king, and questioned strictly as to the nature of his com-

* The person here meant is the Earl of Dunbar, the King's favourite, who professed great regard for James Melville, with whom he had been intimate in his youth. Melville more than once rallies his nephew on his trusting to the empty promises made to him by this courtier—" Heroe vestro collimitaneo."

† Melvini Epist. p. 54.

‡ Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 289.

mission ; and the Duke of Sully was ordered to reprimand the inhabitants of Rochelle for maintaining correspondence with a foreign power without the knowledge and permission of their native sovereign *. Rochelle was one of the fortified cities in the hands of the protestants, and a principal key of the kingdom. The connection which it had with England during the reign of Elizabeth, and the weak and vacillating conduct of James, might justify caution on the part of Henry ; yet it must be confessed that this great prince, for some years before his melancholy death, evinced a jealousy of his protestant subjects, and a partiality to the most inveterate of their enemies, which it is difficult to defend either on the principles of gratitude or policy †.

At this time Melville was consulted by both parties on the theological disputes which agitated

* *De la Boderie, Ambassades*, ii. 386, 430, 433, 486. iii. 26. *Sully's Memoirs*, v. 14. Lond. 1778. The fact is also alluded to in a letter by James Cleland to King James. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 3. 21.) In *Sully's Memoirs* it is said that James acceded to the application from Rochelle ; but this is contradicted by *De la Boderie*.

† This drew from Du Plessis, who was equally distinguished for loyalty to his sovereign and attachment to his religion, the following striking remarks : " We do not envy your killing the fatted calf for the prodigal son, provided you say with a sincere heart to the obedient son, *Thou knowest, my son, that all I have is thine*, or, at least, that you do not sacrifice the obedient son to make the better entertainment for the prodigal. In fine, I am pleased with whatever is done, provided it is advantageous ; but I dread those bargains in which things are given up and nothing got but words, and the words of those who have hitherto had no words." (*Memoires*, tom. ii. pp. 398—9.)

the church in Holland. These were occasioned by the novel opinions of the celebrated Arminius respecting the origin of moral evil, predestination, free-will and grace; which gradually spread through all the reformed churches. In the year 1607, he received a letter from Sibrandus Lubbertus, professor of Divinity at Franeker, giving him an account of the sentiments and procedure of the innovators, and requesting his opinion on the subject. This was followed by a letter from Arminius himself, in which he complained that Lubbertus had misrepresented him to foreign divines, and entered at considerable length into a defence of his conduct *. Arminius possessed an acute and perspicacious mind, joined to consummate self-command and address; but he was full of confidence in his own powers, flattered himself that he could understand and explain all mysteries, and cherished the idea of giving to the world a renovated and unexceptionable system of religious belief. He was by no means scrupulous in stigmatizing as heretical the opinions even of such of his opponents as hesitated to apply this invidious epithet to his own †. Melville did

* Epistolæ Eccles. et Theolog. pp. 187, 190. Lubbert's letter is addressed "Reverendo et Clarissimo viro D. W. Melvino, Sacrae Theologiae Doctori et Professori in inclito Sanct-andreaano." The other is addressed, "W. Melvino." In both instances the transcriber has, by mistake, put *W.* for *A.* Melvino." This appears from comparing Epist. Eccl. et Theol. p. 320, with Brandt, *Vita Arminii*, p. 322.

† Those who would ascertain the real views and spirit of Arminius must consult his letters. "Demersa est veritas (says he),

not entertain the same favourable opinion of the sentiments of this bold speculator which he had formerly expressed concerning those of Piscator *; and we shall find him opposing them at a subsequent period.

In the end of the year 1608, he was visited by several persons of rank, who put him in hopes of obtaining a release from prison. At the desire of one of them he addressed a copy of verses to the King, which Secretary Hay undertook to present †. We are told that James once pardoned a poet who had satirized him, for the sake of two humorous lines with which he concluded his lampoon; saying, he was “a bitter but a witty knave.” But the elegant appeal which was now made to his generosity had no effect on him. By the advice of archbishop Spotswood, Melville also wrote a submissive letter to the Privy Council of England, in which, after mentioning the occasion and motives of his writing the poem which had given them offence, and for which he had suffered an imprisonment of nearly two years, he begged their forgiveness for any expressions in it which might be deemed in-

etiam theologica—in puto profunde, unde non sine magno labore erui potest.—Ne mirare, Uytenbogarde; puto enim paucos esse qui istum articulum (the doctrine of the Trinity) intelligunt.—Fatebitur Helmichius nullam esse heresin in ista mea doctrina: at ego dico in Helmichii et aliorum doctrina non unam heresim, et non exiguae, sed fundamentalem, &c.—Illa proferam quae putabo veritati, paci et *tempori* serviri posse,” &c. (Epist. Eccles. et Theol. pp. 39, 87, 139, 147.)

* Melvini Epist. pp. 67—96.

† Ibid. p. 24.

decorous, or disrespectful, or inconsistent with English feelings. This apology, without containing any thing dishonourable to the writer, afforded the court a fair opportunity to relieve him from prison. But no such thing was intended. What sincerity there was in the archbishop's professions of friendship we shall soon see ; and what reliance Melville placed on them appears from the account of the affair which he wrote to his nephew. “ I have sent you a copy of my submission, which Glasgow, your scholar, has taken with him to the king. For the archbishop has been thrice or four times with me, shewing me that the kirk laments my absence, and that his earnest desire is to have me at home. *Sed non ego credulus illis.* Dunbar must have the honour of my deliverance. You may conjecture all the rest that shall ensue. Relying on divine aid, I am prepared for whatever may be the event —to remain here, to return home, or to go into exile. I am well in body and soul, I thank God.—Let me know of your welfare, and news, either historical or conjectural, if not prophetical *.”

During the whole period of his imprisonment, Melville's courage never once failed him, nor did his spirits suffer the least depression. The elation of his mind was displayed in a poem which he wrote at this time, entitled *Prosopopeia Apologetica*, “ extorted from him by the importunity of both friends and foes †.” It was considered as betraying

* Melvini Epist. p. 29—31.

† Ibid. pp. 22—3. Among the writings of Melville, Demp-

vanity of mind ; because it traced his descent in the royal line, and recorded the services which he had done for the literature of his country. But a modest and humble man may be placed in circumstances which " compel him to glory." When those by whom he ought to have been rewarded and honoured traduce and persecute him, and when the credit of the office which he fills, and of the cause which he has espoused, is in danger of suffering through him, he may warrantably overstep the ordinary bounds of modesty, and employ expressions, in speaking of himself, which in other circumstances would be sufficient to convict him of ostentation and folly.

In a letter to James Melville, enclosing this poem and the couplets addressed to his Majesty, he writes : " These, you know, are only agreeable recreations in which I indulge for the purpose of recruiting my mind in the interval of severer studies and anxious cares. I am preparing for a greater undertaking : Join with me in wishing it success. I

ster (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 497.) mentions " *Melviniana superbia*, lib. 1. cui exordium,

Scotorum, Anglorum, Gallorum, a sanguine Regum,
Ille ego Melvinus."

He evidently refers to the *Prosopopeia*, which contains something similar to what he quotes, although not in the exordium. This is one proof among many that Dempster's mistakes were often owing to the circumstance of his quoting from memory.—The concluding lines of the poem may be considered as expressing Melville's real feelings. (See Appendix.)

shall execute it, if not according to the importance of the subject, yet to the utmost of my ability, royally ; and shall neither dishonour myself nor you, to say nothing of others, whether friends or enemies, whose expectations, through divine assistance, I shall endeavour not to disappoint. Not that I would injure any one : that is contrary to my natural disposition. But I shall prepare to answer in the best manner I can. Shall I fly hope ? shall I court fear ? or shall I waste the flower of my mind in a state of dubiety between hope and fear ? Thus was I wont formerly to jest with the muses, and thus am I now forced seriously to discourse with you about all affairs public and private. But away with fears ! I will cherish the hope of every thing delightful and cheering. Meanwhile I bid you farewell in Christ. Give me frequent and early intelligence of every thing you hear as to our affairs. Again farewell, and take care of your health." In another letter to the same correspondent, he says : " My mind is fresh and vigorous, nor is my bodily strength in the least impaired. I am preparing for the combat, and shall wonder if things pass over thus. I am persuaded that N. (the King) remains in his first opinion, and that it will not be easy to drive him from it. The saying, *Fronti nulla fides*, often comes into my mind. But, leaving events to providence, let us do our duty, and not hesitate to fight under the auspices, and to act a courageous part in the cause, of Him who rules in the midst of his enemies. Though we have in some degree en-

dured contradiction, we have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin ; but this also will we do when called to it by the master of the combat. I am at present engaged in a work which will let our adversaries see how they will be able to keep their feet on the slippery ground of human authority, after they have been driven from the solid and firm ground of divine right *."

In the course of the year 1608, copies of a sermon published by Dr Downham in defence of the government of the Church of England were sent down to Scotland, and distributed gratis among the ministers, with the view of promoting their conversion to episcopacy. Melville had at that time sent his nephew a hurried review of this sermon †. He now sent him two large letters, containing a luminous, rapid and spirited refutation of the principal arguments for prelacy drawn from scripture and antiquity. These were immediately transmitted to Scotland by James Melville, along with a letter from himself, which shews that they had operated as a cordial in reviving his drooping spirits. " When

* Melvini Epist. p. 24—28.

† Ibid. pp. 1—8. He concludes the review by saying : " Such tautologies and vain babbling I wald never have looked for at this tyme to have proceidit from the man, who is a Logicioner, nor to be directed toward the north for convincing our brethren, who, if they be not corrupted more with the 14000 lib. Sterling, sent thither (as they say) *tanquam aureus hamus*, than with the evidence of this book, they will never be persuaded to leave the truth embraced, &c. *Multos ego vidi ineptos homines, at Phormione neminem.* Bilson is more dangerous."

I reflect (says he to Patrick Symson) on the fortitude and constancy of my banished brethren ; when I consider that you have been miraculously recovered, snatched from the jaws of the grave, and restored to the church ; when I muse on the premature death of Nicolson, by which he who possessed so many singular gifts and had deserved so well of the church, was prevented from being carried entirely away by the current and from bringing matters to extremity ; when I think of the good health of my revered uncle, and the excellent spirits which he enjoys at the close of his climacteric year, and after being shut up in a strait prison during two severe winters and as many scorching summers ; when I perceive that the influence of royal authority, bribery, and the most consummate craft and subtilty, combined with the most unwearied diligence and industry, have hitherto had so little success against us : when I reflect on all these things, my breast at intervals heaves with the hope that the captives shall yet return, and that the city and temple of our Jerusalem shall be rebuilt.

Huc me raptat amor dulcis, et impotens
 Ardor ferre moras. O niveum diem
 Qui templo reducem me statuat tuo !
 O lucis jubar aureum ! *.

Nothing less however appears as yet :

— sed cui inops fudit Deus
 Spes et vota bonos ducat ad exitus †.

* Buchanani Psalm. xlii.

† Ib. Psalm. xiv. a quotation from memory.

In the mean time, my beloved and upright brethren, on whom the support of the cause at home is devolved, and whom Jesus, our leader and commander, has placed in the front of the battle, rouse up, fight, stand, shew yourselves men, be strong, and you shall be more than conquerors. O that we who are removed to a distance from you were employed like Moses, Aaron and Hur, on the mountain ! Swayed by the opinion of my dear brother M. W. C. *, I was once inclined to think that we might tolerate at this time many things which we cannot approve ; but when I consider all circumstances, I am much afraid that such forbearance would deprive us of the simplicity, sincerity, liberty and power of the gospel. Read, I beseech you, again and again and again, these pages of Andrew Melville, written hastily on the spur of the occasion, but fraught with divine truth and learning, and apparently intended for you and your fellow combatants against intruding bishops. When you have perused them, with his petition to the King, return the whole to the bearer, that he may take a copy of them for the use of other brethren †."

Melville was not a little amused in his prison with the accounts which he received of the literary contest in which his Majesty was involved, in consequence of his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*. The cock-fighting, and " the admirable pastime,

* Probably Mr William Cowper of Perth.

† Melvini Epist. pp. 44—47.

lately taken up, of hunting or daring of dotterells and other of that nature," in which James had been lately spending the greater part of his time, and at which the people of London were so indignant *, were now laid aside, and his Majesty was continually closetted with a select number of the most learned of his clergy. One was employed in writing an answer to Cardinal Bellarmine, and another to the Jesuit Parsons, while a third superintended the impression of Barclay de Potestate Paper. As James was "never the man that could think a Cardinal a meet match for a King," he chose to call the book which was to appear under his own name, *A Premonition to all Christian Monarchs*. The bishop who made the first draught of this work found that he had got Penelope's web to weave; for what he had finished at night his Majesty undid in the morning; and when the work came at last from the press, it was found necessary to have some parts of it altered, and the poor printer was sent to prison for having given out copies of it before this operation was performed. The *Premonition* was immediately translated into the different modern languages by the clerks in waiting, and sent by special ambassadors to all Christian States except

* Winwood's Memor. vol. i. p. 217. The people threatened, if he did not desist from his unkingly sports, to poison his dogs and other game-companions, and to send himself to the hills whence he came. The subject was introduced on the stage, and all the players were for some time banished from the capital by an order from court. (De la Boderie, Ambassades, i. 56, 310.)

the Swiss Cantons ; but it pleased nobody but those against whom it was directed, who, having started a royal stag, were resolved to have sport of him. “ In the mean time, (says Melville) his Majesty chases, and every body else chuckles. *Rex ringitur ; aliis rident* *.”

Melville was again tantalized with the prospect of obtaining his liberty. At a convention held in Scotland it had been agreed to petition the king to allow the exiled ministers to return home. On this occasion the bishops acted with great duplicity. They had agreed to the petition ; and yet they gave written instructions, to the agent whom they sent to London, to apologize to his Majesty for their doing so, and to request him not to set the ministers at liberty †. Spotswood, on going to court, promised to bring Melville along with him, to have him placed as principal in the University of Glasgow ; and at his return he expressed much regret that he had not been able to effect his purpose ‡. But we learn from a letter of the archbishop’s to the King, that in all this he acted a feigned and hypocritical part. “ For these matters of the ministers (says he) please your majesty, we are here quiet ; and their absence will even breed a forgetfulness. The bishop of St Andrews has peace at will, whereby your Majesty can take up the instruments of this trou-

* *De la Boderie, Ambassades*, tom. iv. pp. 271, 301, 318, 324. 372. *Melvini Epist.* pp. 51, 79.

† Printed Cald. p. 602. *Scot’s Apolog. Narrat.* p. 219.

‡ Cald. vii. 323.

ble*." It would appear that archbishop Gladstones had been less cautious than his brother of Glasgow in expressing his real sentiments on this subject. His words had come to the ears of Melville, who in one of his letters to his nephew speaks of the Scottish Primate in the following severe terms: " *Ver-tumnus*, you know whom I mean, the rapacious *Gled*† that nestles in the old ruins of the meretricious Babylon, boasts that he has received the King's hand and promise that I shall not see my native country while he lives. *Loripes* (whom it is easy to reprove but impossible to reform) has not forgotten certain words which I addressed to him jocularly when he was dining with me before we left Scotland ‡."—On the subject of their liberation we find James Melville writing thus to his uncle: " I waited on the Chancellor, as he passed through this town on his return to Scotland, and thanked him for the concern which he had taken in your affair. He repeated to me what passed between his Ma-

* Letter to the King, Nov. 1609. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 65.) In this letter Spotswood professes that it was his design to yield up his bishoprick, and retire from public life, to shew the world that he was not actuated by ambition. Yet, only two months after this, he accepted the office of an Extraordinary Lord of Session, in addition to those burdens which he had pronounced " insupportable !"

† *Gled*, in the Scottish language, is the name of the *Kite*. This play on the primate's name (including an allusion to the intemperance with which he was charged) occurs in different epigrams written on him. (Simsoni Annales, pp. 129, 130. Melvini Musæ, pp. 18—20.)

‡ Melvini Epist. p. 48.

jesty and him, and a long and close conversation which he had with the arch-primate (to whom his Majesty referred him) in the porch of the palace of Whitehall. His Grace finally promised that he would use his utmost influence in your behalf with the King, and with the bishops of Scotland, who would not, he said, stand in the way of your returning to your college, provided it did not endanger the peace of the church. 'Leave him to me; I will pledge myself that he shall not take part in any plots against you,' said the Chancellor. I took the opportunity of laying my own case before his lordship. I complained that I was detained here, and deprived of my stipend, though innocent, uncondemned, unjudged, unaccused, without even the shadow of a crime laid to my charge. I begged that I might be permitted to go home and resume the oversight of my poor sea-faring people; or, if this could not be granted, that my expenses here should be borne, or that liberty should be given me to go to France. With many kind expressions he promised to take an early opportunity of writing the Earl of Dunbar in behalf both of you and me, adding that it would give him the greatest pleasure to be of any service to us *."

Despairing of being permitted to return to his native country, Melville entertained at this time a serious intention of going to the New World, and in pursuance of it had several interviews with a person

* Melvini Epist. pp. 121—3.

who had embarked in an extensive colonial expedition. It does not certainly appear to what part of America he purposed to retire, but it was most probably Virginia. "My friend (he writes to his nephew) has prepared a fleet; he has raised two thousand soldiers and four hundred supernumeraries; and he is in daily expectation of the return of a servant whom he had sent before him. With a slender fortune and in debt he encourages himself with the hopes of success, and omits no part of the duty of a good and prudent commander. I had a visit from him to-day along with his son-in-law. What expectations I should entertain, I know not; but of one thing I am sure that he is a good and worthy man, and wants the means, not the inclination, to do well. I betake myself to my sacred anchor: "seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all other things shall be added to you *."—We can scarcely suppose that the court would hinder his emigration to such a distant quarter of the globe; it is, therefore, most likely that something occurred to divert his mind from the project.

His solitary hours were relieved by the company of two of his name-sons, who successively resided with him, and whom he instructed in languages

* Melvini Epist. p. 55. The English were at this time very eager in forming settlements in America. (De la Boderie. Amb. tom. iv. pp. 263—4.) Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then in the Tower, had projected the expedition to Guiana which afterwards cost him his life; and Melville, in one of his letters, speaks of one of his grand-nephews, who was with him, wishing to visit that country. (Epist. p. 143.)

and philosophy. The one was a son of James Melville and the other a son of one of his brothers, who had left a large family unprovided for *. This last young man was of a romantic and unsettled turn of mind, and appears to have gained a large share of the affections of his grand-uncle, who was induced to advance him, at different times, sums which his limited finances could not well bear †. But the principal recreation which Melville found was in the cultivation of his favourite muse. Every packet which he sent to his nephew contained one, and some of them three or four of his poetical productions. “ I have added to this (says he) the second and sixteenth psalms, both of them warm from the anvil, and the last hastily struck off this morning, so that I have not had time to apply the file to it. I wish you to consider this remark as applying also to the first psalm, which I sent you some time ago, both as to the translation and to the numbers and poetical .

* James Melville's son, after leaving the Tower, resided for some time with a Scotsman named Guthrie, who taught an academy in the neighbourhood of London. He was brother to Alexander Guthrie in Edinburgh, and a relation of James Lawson, the minister. He died in the year 1609. (Melvini Epist. pp. 56, 64, 100.) His school was at Hoddesdon in the year 1584. (Life prefixed to Bishop Cowper's Works.) “ *De filio Andrea quam gratum!*” says James Melville. “ *Guthræi, amicissimi viri, Locubrationculam ubi perlegero, testimonio quali author meretur ornabo. Ego ad eos literas dedi. A D. Josepho Hallo christiani amoris et humanitatis plenissimas accepi: pro quibus non potui non agere gratias. Ejus in Salomonem opella, nuper edita, bene placet.*” (Melvini Epist. pp. 98—9.)

† Ibid. 143, 153, 170, 305—6, 324. Letter from A. Melville to Beyd of Trochrig, in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 49.

ornaments. If you compare them with Buchanan's, you will observe a difference in many things. The first psalm almost pleases me *." Men of real genius often defraud the public by the desultory nature of their studies, or by the injudicious choice which they make of a subject on which to exert their talents. This was one of Melville's faults, of which his nephew often admonished him. "Why do you require my judgment of your verses, when you know that I am disposed to form too favourable an opinion of all that you do? However, I shall tell you what others say of them. They say that you are doing what has been done already, contending in vain with the great Buchanan, and neglecting what you ought to do. Notwithstanding, I do not doubt that, in the course of providence, better things may be produced than have yet been executed; and I am persuaded that you have not forgotten the work which you promised †." This drew from Melville a defence of his conduct. "I send you certain psalms which I have translated into Latin verse: an Iliad after Homer, forsooth! But I am not like the prince of Latin poets, who says:

Etsi me vario jactatum laudis amore,
Irrataque expertum fallacis premia vulgi.

By such small performances I do not seek for glory or popular applause, nor do I court the bounty of princes and kings; but I yield to the power,

* Melvini Epist. p. 87.

† Ibid. p. 93.

whatsoever it is, that inspires me; and do not so much seek to escape from private vexations, as obey my ruling passion, and indulge my genius. I do this the more willingly that I derive advantage mixed with the purest pleasure from such studies, and sometimes elicit the hidden meaning of the prophet which had escaped others. The manner of writing and the poetic numbers which I employ, I have chosen, that I may make a shew of contending with those champions who have deservedly carried away the palm in this field of literature. It becomes me to think modestly of my own works; every one is ready to flatter himself; and where is the individual who does not sometimes slip a foot on this dangerous ground? But I trust to the keeping of the great Ruler of heaven and earth, to whom I have dedicated and devoted my all, and whose glory I wish I could advance with a willingness and alacrity corresponding to the great and manifold proofs of his kindness and beneficence towards me *."—Notwithstanding the dissensions of his judicious friend, Melville continued his labours on the psalms, and a specimen of them was committed to the press during the time that he lay in the Tower †."

* Melvini Epist. pp. 100—102.

† The only notice of this publication which I have seen is in one of his letters to James Melville, (dated "Ex Turri, Jan. 8. 1610.") " Mitto ad te versus aliquot meos typis excusos, ut scias me non temere in Psalmos incurrisse, ex quibus pedem retraho vel invitus." (Melvini Epist. p. 144.)

He met at this time with a misfortune which gave him considerable uneasiness. His purse, containing all the money which he had lately received from his nephew, and on which he depended for his support during the approaching winter, was stolen. It is probable that this act of theft was committed by one of the keepers of the prison ; and in his circumstances it would have been useless and even dangerous to complain or to take steps for recovering his lost property. He was under the necessity, therefore, of applying again to James Melville, to whom he conveyed information of the unpleasant occurrence in the following delicate allegory. " I had lately in my possession upwards of twenty birds of the Seraphic species, kept with no small care, and cherished in a warm nest under the shade of my wings. Whether they were tired of their confinement or seized with a desire for liberty, I am not prepared to say ; but without bidding their unsuspecting host farewell, they poised their airy wings and fled, not to return, and have left me to deplore their absence. I soothe my grief by meditating on that beautiful discourse on providence contained in the sixth chapter of Matthew, and by the consciousness that I was not deficient in at least moderate care. The saying, *The Lord will provide*, often recurs to my mind. I have experienced the truth of it hitherto through the whole course of my life ; our indulgent Father, out of regard to my infirmity, having prevented me from ever feeling extreme want. This is an accident which I never

before met with in my life, but it is one of those which are common to men :

Qualia multa mari nautæ patiuntur in alto.

Be not inquisitive as to the particulars, of which I am neither altogether certain nor altogether ignorant ; and I have vowed silence.

Desine meque tuis incenders teque querelis.

The loss which I have sustained is one of those which could not have been foreseen or provided against, and it is counterbalanced by another unexpected event, the friendly treaty which is in prospect ; so that it would seem that the master of the feast and supreme disposer of all events has seen meet to mingle for me a bitter-sweet cup. Our excellent friend Traill has visited me and delivered Lindsay's token of remembrance, which I received as a pledge of my complete restitution to the college *. I am afraid lest the approaching winter prevent sailing, and put a stop to all communication between us. Wherefore, if you have any thing that can be of use to me, transmit it as expeditioualy as possible †."

This call was instantly obeyed. Indeed, the purse of James Melville was always at his uncle's command, and his remittances were uniformly conveyed with such readiness and delicacy as made them appear rather as the performance of a filial duty or

* This refers, probably, to a legacy from Secretary Lindsay, who had been Chancellor of the University of St Andrews.

† Melvini Epist. pp. 91—2.

the discharge of a debt of gratitude, than as gratuitous favours and acts of charity or generosity to a distressed friend. "Riches, (says he in the letter which he sent along with the money) take to themselves eagles' wings, and fly away. But there is enough in the sacred promises to which you refer. He who has such securities may rest satisfied. Be of good courage, therefore, my father: the Good Shepherd shall supply you abundantly with all things. I shall send you money, and you will send me songs,

*Jacundiea malle et auro,
Et nitidis potiora gemmis.*

Let us continue this mutual intercourse; and I have good hope that, as you will never run short of verses for my use, so I shall not run short of gold for yours *." Melville's answer affords a beautiful example of the union of piety and gratitude. "Your succedaneum for the fugitive gold came most seasonably to my relief. So profusely beneficent has my divine and indulgent Father been towards me as even to exceed my wishes. O that I may be found grateful and mindful of the benefits bestowed on me by him who has accepted me gratuitously in his Son! that I may love him, who first loved me, with all my mind, soul and strength! and that I may bring forth the fruits of this love, by promoting the good of his church in these difficult times, and amidst all the ingratitude that abounds!—I received the Span-

* Melvini Epist. pp. 92—3.

ish and British angels, equalling in number the Apostles, the Graces and the Elements, with a supernumerary one of the Seraphic order: *aurum contra caro*. I do not rejoice so much in them; (although these commutable pieces of money are at present very useful to me) as I do at the renewing of the memory of my deceased friends, and the prospect of our friendship being perpetuated in their posterity, who have given such a favourable pre-
sign of future virtue and undoubted piety; for what else could have induced them to take such interest in my affairs at this time? Wherefore I congratulate them, and I rejoice that this favourable opportunity of transmitting friendship unbroken from father to son and grandson has been afforded *.—So you have the confidence to say, that the fountain of the muses from which I draw will be exhausted sooner than the vein of your gold mine, whence you extract the treasures with which you supply me so liberally. Hold, prithee! Take care what you say, especially to poets like me, who when I do sing, sing at the invitation of the muses and under their inspiration. This makes me more regardless of the capricious judgment of critics; for in

* This refers to the family of George Greir, from whom James Melville had received part of the money which he sent to his uncle. (Melvini Epist. p. 117.) Greir was second minister of Haddington (Record of Presb. of Hadd. Jan. 26. 1603.); and married Elizabeth, daughter of James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh. (Testament of Elizabeth Lowsone, in Commissary Record of Edin. April 5. 1615. comp. Inquis. Retorn. Gen. no. 142.)

writing verses I do not aim at vain glory or any human reward, but yield a free homage to the muses and seek a liberal recreation to my own mind. About other things I am quite indifferent; only I reckon all the time gained which is spent in these sacred lucubrations, as they help to recal my mind from sensible things to divine contemplation, and fit me for the better discharge of the duties of my station. Nor do I contend with any individual so much as with myself, over whom if I gain an advantage I consider myself as having carried off the prize *."

In the course of this year he had to mourn the loss of several of his relations and acquaintance. His feelings on receiving these melancholy tidings, are expressed in his letters to his favourite and constant correspondent. "I am just come from reading in the second epistle to Timothy, which has allayed the tumult raised in my breast. Yet I cannot but feel. See that the funeral obsequies be duly performed. Let no mark of respect and friendship be wanting to the memory of two brethren—brethren both of them, the one by the bonds of piety, grace, and celestial parentage, and the other by the ties of nature also, and still more nearly allied to me than to you. Act, I pray you, a pious and becoming part. Discharge the debt due to grace and friendship, to nature and propinquity. Discharge it with tears, but let them be the tears of Abraham, the father of us all,

* Melvini Epist. pp. 108—111.

‘ who rose up from weeping for his wife.’ These are temporary things: we mind things that are eternal. ‘ Put the brethren in remembrance,’ and exhort them to constancy.—What a loss, in respect of piety and erudition, has the church sustained by the death of my friend the great Scaliger, who, about the end of January, exchanged an earthly for a heavenly country! How can we but be touched and deeply affected for the loss of such a person, and of others whom we loved in this world and who have gone before us! Of such there are not a few known to you who belonged to our church, and were allied to us either by natural or spiritual consanguinity; Knox, Arbuthnot, Smeaton, Lawson, Row, the Melvilles, my dearest brothers and your father and uncle, the two brothers George and Andrew Hay, Post, Craig, Rollock, Ferguson, Christison, Davidson, your father-in-law Durie, and many others, after whose example and in whose footsteps we ought to press through all impediments, seeking the crown of glory in that right and new path which the author and finisher of our faith hath trodden, and consecrated for us by his own blood.

Cur tam sollicitis vitam consumimus annis,
Torquemurque metu, cœaque cupidine rerum,
Æternisque senes curis? _____

Humana cuncta fumus, umbra, vanitas,
Et scene imago, et, verbo ut absolvam, nihil.

I am an old man and garrulous; for there is nothing in which old men take greater pleasure than

in talking. Love also prattles. You know it was formerly rumoured that I was in love; and why should I not be seriously so now, seeing I began this last spring to grow young again and to play the boy, that I might imitate you as closely as possible. You know what I would be at. *Dictum sapienti* *."

In Melville's letters to his nephew there is often much playfulness, proceeding sometimes from the vivacity of his imagination, and at other times from the kindness of his heart, which shewed that the writer possessed a great flow of spirits, and a mind, which, though not always exempt from distress, was always at peace with itself, and at ease and in love with the person to whom it imparted without reserve its thoughts and its feelings. He delighted in the *seria mixta jecis*; and in discoursing on the gravest and most momentous subjects was wont to relieve his own mind and that of his correspondent by throwing out some pleasant repartee, or suggesting some agreeable and joyous reminiscence. But all this will not account or apologize for the appearance of incongruity and even levity that there is in the concluding part of the last extract—in the sudden transition from lamenting over the dead to jesting on love and matrimony. The following explanation will, however, shew that the writer was never more deeply in earnest than on this occasion. My readers must by this time be aware, although they

* Melvilli Epist. pp. 76—78.

have not been expressly told, that Melville remained a bachelor, and consequently that he was now an old one. They will therefore be surprised to have a correspondence upon a matrimonial affair laid before them ; and they will find that it is not chargeable with that total absence of every thing worldly which made the love-letters of John Knox so unpopular and unattractive. To prevent disappointment, however, I must inform them, that Melville was not the lover ; he was only his friend and counsellor. James Melville, who was ten years younger than his uncle, had now been upwards of two years a widower. During his residence at Newcastle he had become acquainted with a young woman, the daughter of a respectable deceased clergyman, who had been vicar of Berwick upon Tweed. Suffice it to say, that the accomplishments of this young lady made a conquest of his heart, and there was every reason to think that he would marry her. Some of his friends in the north, who were of opinion that it was imprudent for him to marry at all, or at any rate to marry one who was so very much younger than himself, communicated the intelligence to his uncle, who, they knew, had greater influence with him than any other individual. Melville was of the same opinion with his friends, and he made the transition alluded to, that he might draw on a correspondence on the subject, and suggest to the mind of his nephew the impropriety and unseasonableness of the step which he was meditating.

He had scarcely sent off his letter, when he receiv-

ed one from James Melville, in which, after modestly introducing the affair "beneath well-sounding Greek," he gave him a description of the object of his attachment, who had every recommendation but a fortune, stated the reasons for and against the step which he proposed to take, and earnestly begged his uncle's advice. Melville immediately replied. "On the subject of matrimony (says he) I am at a loss what to write; as I have no experience of that happy state. With you I bow with reverence to the declarations concerning it which you quote from the sacred oracles, though my years place me beyond the reach of their application. You state the arguments on both sides with great accuracy; but it is not difficult to perceive to what side you incline. You entirely pass over the widow" (the lady with whom James Melville lodged at Newcastle, and whom his friends thought a fitter match for him) "and you launch out in praises of the damsel. This gives ground for suspecting your judgment, and for thinking that affection and not reason has the dominion. You have given admission to love; but keep the door fast bolted on reason. Whether this be *cum ratione insenare* I cannot say. I know you have sharp eyes, but in this business it is proper to use the ears also." Having suggested some considerations, all bearing in favour of the widow, he adds: "but you know these things much better than I do; and it becomes me to remember the adage *γάστρας οὐ άταστα*, or rather, *Sus Minervam*." After some learned and ingenious remarks on age

and the different seasons of life, backed with the authority of Solon, Seneca, Varro and Virgil, he concludes: "Thus, my dear James, do I address you with the same freedom which the elder Africannus used with the younger. Act a part becoming your extraction, your judgment, and your prudence. With respect to what I hinted about the age at which your father died, may heaven avert the omen from you, and turn it rather on your friend. *Tu vero seruus
in carcerem redreas.* You see what a prolix letter I have written you, and without a spice of wit in it. Advise well. Time, under God, will direct you. The bearer is a-going, and yet I cannot leave off prating to you. Love is fond of prating."—"I congratulate myself, (says James Melville in his reply to this letter) that, by starting the subject of marriage, I have drawn from you three golden pages, filled with proofs of the greatest love to me and of the profoundest learning and prudence. They shall lie in my bosom instead of a wife during the winter-months, until I have taken that time for deliberation which the affair and my circumstances require. Nevertheless I am resolved to end my days, sooner or later, in honourable wedlock :

Nubila mens est,
Vinctaque frenis,
Hæc nisi regnet."

Having assigned his reasons for thinking that the widow whom his friends recommended would be an unsuitable partner for him, he adds: "I have not

forgotten the saying of an ancient sage, 'A man cannot be wise and in love at the same time ;' and I recollect the words of the Italian writer, ' Senza moglie, ben che non senza donna, avenge che le cose che superanno le force nostre sono piu in desiderio che in magisterio.' To the instance of my father you might have added that of my brother ; for both of them died in their fifty-third year, a circumstance which occurred to my own mind, and which has affected me not a little since you objected it. But is it not eligible to have a faithful and affectionate wife even to watch by one's death-bed and to close one's eyes ? and is it not allowed us to enjoy the comforts of life while we live ? I thank God, I never enjoyed better health. Perhaps it is the last effort of nature ; as in the case of my father. Be it so : I will rejoice in it as the first step of my entrance into true life ; and much rather would I meet a mature grave than suffer the grief which I would feel at your death or the ruin of the good cause *."

His uncle was still afraid that the step was an imprudent one ; and therefore resolved to use stronger language than he had employed in his former letter, with the view of making him pause, although at the risk of offending him. This was a proof of the truest friendship ; for he was at this time deeply in debt to his nephew, and had the prospect of yet needing to make additional draughts

* Melvini Epist. pp. 81—90, 93—96.

on his kindness and liberality. Having made some remarks on the intelligence which James Melville had sent him as to the state of church-matters in Scotland, and the prospect of their speedily coming to a crisis, he thus addresses him : " Therefore, I cannot but exhort you to be vigilant, and prepared with renovated vigour to fight this glorious battle, for which you have been restored to health, and reserved to this day. All effeminacy of mind must be laid aside ; the old man must be put off ; and we must behave ourselves stoutly and resolutely, lest in the last scene of the conflict, we fail through error or fear, not to say dotage, to which every slip of old men is commonly imputed. Your son, Andrew, has, I hope, been with you for several weeks. He, together with John, Elizabeth and Anne, (the mentioning of whose names must renew the memory of your dearest wife) will prevent you from being fascinated and lulled asleep by the love of this young woman so distinguished for taciturnity and prudence. The very arguments which you adduce to prove that you are guided in this affair by reason more than affection, betray affection ; not to recur to the age which proved fatal to your relations. I dare not say,

Otium, Melvina, tibi molestum est ;
Otio enefas nimiumque gestis ;
Otium Reges simul et beatas
Perdidit urbes.

What you say about sepulchral matrimony, and so forth, is all hyperbolical, and only shews how much

you are carried away by your affections. The plain case is this: You are the father of five children, four of whom are at a very critical age, and two of them daughters, well-born, liberally educated and approaching to maturity. They need your paternal care and solicitude and watchfulness. Your eldest son is married, and, although he has no children, is not to be neglected. Your brother's children are dependent on you, and require your attention and assistance. And, in these circumstances, you———. Conceive that you hear your friend Dykes, with severe brow and ardent eyes, with an impassioned but affectionate tone, urging these and similar considerations upon you. I merely suggest these things to you, and am forced to break off. May the author of all good counsel give you direction. Farewell, and live in the Lord, my dear James, by far the best beloved of all my friends. Take time to deliberate. *Festina lente.*"

It must be confessed that in this letter there are some severe things, and that it contains imputations or insinuations which the conduct of James Melville had not merited, and which could not fail to hurt his feelings. It drew from him a spirited reply, in which the respect which he cherished for his uncle, and the conviction which he felt that his letter had been dictated by friendship, though they restrained, could not altogether conceal or suppress his irritation. "It would seem that I have used too great freedom in writing to you on the affair of marriage. To what but this can I trace the unfav-

sumable, not to say injurious, rumours and suspicions concerning me—that I have fallen into dotage, am playing the fool, idling, slumbering, and giving myself up to love. Good words, witches! I am constrained to answer, lest, by overmuch forbearance, I should injure my reputation and the cause for which I appear. In answer to the charge of dotage, I might, as Sophaes says, repeat such things as could not proceed from a fool or a dotard. I am not conscious that I have turned a hair's-breadth from the straight course which I have been all along pursuing, or that there is any change in my conduct, except that, as I draw nearer the goal, I feel my mind, thro' the grace of Christ, more disposed to piety and holiness. I live here daily under the eyes of very acute censors, and yet I have not heard that I have been charged with any thing foolish either in speech or behaviour. It is true that I at present enjoy greater ease than I could wish; but I can say with Virgil's shepherd,

O Melibœ, *Dex nobis haec otia fecit.*

And perhaps I was never less idle, so that I could give such an account, not only of my former active life, but also of my present repose, as a wise and good man ought to be prepared to give. I certainly do not mean to deny that I take my rest in the night, and that I enjoy sound sleep: God having blessed me with health and a mind free from distracting solicitude. Nor do I deny that I am in love; but it is legitimate, holy, chaste, sober

love. But I think of a second marriage! I do; and I wish I had thought of it two years ago. It is surely very unreasonable that what ought to be regarded as an honour should be now mentioned to my disgrace.—Do not, my chaste father, measure all others by yourself, who, inflamed with the sacred love of the Muses, and reposing in the embraces of Minerva, look with severe indifference on conjugal felicity, and have all your days abstained from it for the sake of purer and more refined delights. But I restrain myself. I do not pretend that I am not under the influence of the affections, for how then could I be in love? All that I profess is that they are kept under the restraints of reason and religion.—Your friend Dykes talks scoffingly in what he says about sepulchral wedlock. It is a calumny, a crude cavil, and savours too much of choler. Indeed, I can perceive nothing of any weight in what you adduce, except it be the incongruity of an old man marrying a young woman. But I am not an old man, I am only elderly. She indeed is in the flower of life, being only nineteen years of age. And who that is wise would not prefer for a partner one who is sound in mind and body, chaste, modest, yielding, humble, loving, open-hearted, sweet-tempered, and thus every way qualified for rendering life agreeable? A widow, or one of more advanced age, who possesses these properties, is *rara avis in terris*. Certain it is I can meet with none such here. If therefore you concede to me the liberty of taking a wife, and do not forbid matrimony entirely (which

I hope you will not do) you must allow me to choose a fit partner for myself. I have many reasons for not taking a widow, and more for taking a young woman; nor do I want examples of the best of men who have acted as I purpose to do; such as Knox, Craig, Pont, Dalgleish, and others in our own church. But, that you may know how differently my friend Dykes thinks from your fictitious friend of that name, I beg leave to inform you that I have just received a letter from him, in which he congratulates me on my attachment to an excellent young woman who entertains for me a reciprocal affection, will take care of me in my declining years, and be a solace to me during my exile. I have only to request of you, my loving father, that you form an equally favourable opinion of my intentions, or that at least you pardon in me what you may not be able entirely to approve *."

This letter convinced Melville that his nephew's resolution was fixed, and that he had proceeded rather too far in opposing it. He therefore yielded with a good grace, and announced his acquiescence. "Our friend Bamford has delivered me your very serious and very long, but not prolix, letter. The longer it was the more agreeable, although it contained some things which I could not read without tears.—Your apology, like the garden of Adonis, planted with the most delicious flowers and adorned with bower-work, exhales nothing but pure and sacred loves, which, although of the most delicate kind,

* Melville Epist. pp. 114—116, 126—133.

might captivate Minerva rather than Venus :

Iliam dulcis amor tinctis in Nectare tellis
Influit : & quae sub propriae atterit alii,
Inque meos quibus actis venus perque ora volaret.

It has penetrated my heart, not to say wounded it; and almost made me to sigh after such happiness. But, alas! it is too late at my advanced age. What remains, therefore, but that I congratulate you, and encourage you to go on in your virtuous course? You do injustice to my Dykes and me when you accuse us of bantering; a fault which is as foreign to his disposition as it was from the design of my letter. What, my son! would I mock you on so serious and sacred a subject? Far be this from one who strives against every thing that is unamiable about him, or which merits the dislike of good men. May your love succeed and be crowned with the most fortunate and auspicious issue to you and yours! If I seemed to oppose it, impute this to yourself and your urgent request for my opinion. Nor could I prevail on myself to conceal from you what I heard from others or suspected they would say, that I might excite you to look narrowly to yourself and your affairs at this crisis. I now congratulate and give joy to Melissa as the successor of Eliza. It is my prayer that she may spend many happy years in your company, and, what is more, that she may make you the father of a fair offspring *.* The marriage took place accordingly, and appears

* Melvini Epist. pp. 134—141,—143.

to have been attended with happy effects. Melville never had the pleasure of seeing his fair young neice, but he sent his affectionate salutations "the honied *Melissa*" in every letter which he wrote to his nephew, who took particular pleasure in acknowledging the compliment. Whatever may be thought as to the prudence of his second marriage, it is but justice to James Melville to say, that it had no influence in enervating his mind, or in lulling him into indolence or indifference about the cause for which he was a witness and a sufferer. He rejected the offer of a bishoprick, which Sir John Anstruther made him in the name of the King; he refused to purchase his liberty by acceding to conditions inconsistent with his principles*; he counselled and encouraged his brethren in Scotland by his letters; and he drew up several writings, historical and apologetical, relating to the church of Scotland, which he only waited the consent of his brethren and a fit opportunity to publish to the world. In this last respect he had some ground for retaliation on his uncle, whom he urged to perform his promises, by putting the finishing hand as speedily as possible to his work on the episcopal controversy. This work, though not laid aside, proceeded slowly, and was often interrupted by studies more congenial to the taste and disposition of the author. To the friendly remonstrances of his nephew, Melville replied: "By the paraprases of which I send you a specimen, I sustain the

* Cald. vii. 72, 208.

imbecility of my spirit, which hitherto has not been left destitute of Christian confidence, or of any kind of consolation, by him who in his mercy has honoured me to favour his cause, if not by actual services, at least by sincere, though many ways imperfect, purposes and endeavours. It grieves me that I cannot be present to assist it, and that I can do so little for it in my absence. But why do I say, it grieves me? No; I do not grieve, though I once grieved that I had been so unprofitable to the church of Christ. Without my assistance the supreme Judge hath pleaded his own cause, and he will plead it still further*.—In reminding me of my promise you act a friendly and a prudent part, knowing, as you do, my habitual indolence and supineness. Yet I can redeem my pledge with no great expence or labour. The controversialists to whom you refer, torture the passages of scripture which they allege for pseudo-episcopacy; and they have been already refuted by others. Nor do they place their chief confidence in these, but their forte lies in the mask of antiquity, and the pretext of royal authority, which they boastingly represent as supreme and absolute. They dare not come out into the open field, nor will they commit themselves in any contest which is not to be finally decided by the arbitrary authority of an individual. By means of injunctions, proclamations, edicts, and a shew of judgement they break through all barriers, and pervert all laws, both human and divine. Keep

* Melvini Epist. pp. 107—8.

yourself easy on the head of my ‘thrasonic boasting;’ for I measure the cause by the force of truth and not my own abilities, and look for victory over the prostrate audacity of our adversaries through the divine blessing. In so good a cause I do not despair of being able at least to answer when challenged; but instead of arrogating any thing to myself, I am disposed to attribute much to the exertions of my brethren, whose industry I cannot but applaud *.”

The same arts of court-policy which had been put in practice for a number of years continued to be employed for the overthrow of presbytery in Scotland. And as its ablest and most resolute defenders were either exiled or imprisoned, these arts were but too successful. The bishops were conscious that there were insuperable difficulties in the way of their immediately accomplishing their object. While they were at work in removing these, they contrived artfully to lay asleep the jealousy of their opponents and to bind up their hands, by engaging them in a treaty for peace and accommodation. At a conference held at Falkland in June 1608, and at a packed General Assembly convened at Linlithgow in the subsequent month, both parties, with professions of mutual regard, agreed to leave the matters in dispute to be settled by a certain number of individuals, and promised upon oath to abstain, in the mean time, from agitating them, or saying any thing in private or public which might

* Melvini Epist. pp. 134—5.

tend to keep alive the dissension *. At a meeting held in May 1609, they not only renewed this engagement, but also joined in an address to the King in which they formally gave him thanks for his exertions to settle the church in peace †. When a scheme is on foot for overthurning the liberties and constitution of a society, all such engagements to silence and the maintenance of peace are ensnaring and dangerous. In the present instance the engagement was a virtual retractation of the opposition hitherto managed against episcopacy. It implied an acknowledgement on the part of the presbyterians that the matters in dispute were indifferent, and consequently might be submitted to out of regard to peace and in obedience to royal authority. It shut the mouths of such as feared an oath, or exposed them to censure as violators of their promise, provided they should find it their duty to testify against proceedings hurtful to the interests of religion; while it imposed no restraint on those who had the power in their hands, and who had shewn by their former conduct that they could trample on the most sacred engagements ‡.

It was during this deceitful truce that the ecclesiastical leaders took a step which they had hitherto

* Cald. vii. 146, 195—201. Scot's *Apolog. Narrat.* pp. 211—217. Melville's *Hist. of Decl. Age*, pp. 225, 240—243.

† Cald. vii. 297—310. Scot, 222—227. Melville, 232—235.

‡ In a letter to the King, dated Linlithgow July last 1609, the bishops, say: “ So now Sir, as we hope for an end of all our contentions, and a prevailing in your Majesty's service,” &c. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 61.)

carefully avoided. They had all along denied that there was any intention of moulding the government of the church after the English form, and had vindicated the changes which had been successively introduced on the score of their being useful for recovering the ecclesiastical property, or necessary to give satisfaction to the King. They now avowed a change of sentiment. A new light, they alleged, had sprung up in their minds during their late studies ; they were convinced that episcopacy was more agreeable to Scripture than that form of government which had been established in Scotland ; and they were willing to impart the reasons which had convinced them to their brethren who were of a different mind. With this view they proposed that the question should be submitted to a formal dispute. Considering what the conduct of the bishops had been for a course of years, their professions of sudden conversion were more than suspicious, and it was not difficult to trace their “new light” to its proper source *. However, three of the

* When Cowper was made Bishop of Galloway, an old woman who had been one of his parishioners at Perth, and a favourite, could not be persuaded that her minister had deserted the presbyterian cause. Resolved to satisfy herself, she paid him a visit in the Canongate, where he had his residence as Dean of the Chapel Royal. The retinue of servants through which she passed staggered the good woman’s confidence ; and on being ushered into the room where the bishop sat in state, she exclaimed, “ Oh, Sir ! what’s this ? And ye ha’ really left the guid cause, and turned prelate ! ”—“ Janet, (said the bishop) I have got new light upon these things.”—“ So I see, Sir (replied Janet) ; for when ye was at Perth, ye had but a’ candle, and now ye’ve got twa before ye : that’s a’ your new light.”

ministers of Fife, Scot, Dykes, and Carmichael, accepted their challenge, and prepared for the contest. But it was enough for the patrons of episcopacy to have called in question the received discipline, and they found excuses for putting off the discussion which they had provoked. To assist them in the dispute, or to terrify the ministers into silence, Dr Abbot and two other learned divines were sent down from England. Without wishing to derogate from the talents of the English missionaries, we cannot help saying that they gave but slender proofs of their prowess on this occasion. Had they come to Scotland four years earlier, when the most able defenders of presbytery were in the country and at liberty, they would have had an honourable opportunity of signalizing themselves as the champions of the hierarchy ; and, notwithstanding the royal insinuation at the Hampton-Court conference, we will venture to say that they would have run no risk of having their doctoral habiliments torn, although the sleeves of their cassocks might have been a little disordered by the rude fervour of Scottish eloquence. But their coming at the present time and traversing the country in state, bore too strong a resemblance to the conduct of a bravo, who proudly walks the stage, when he knows that his antagonists have been seized by the officers of justice or bound over to keep the peace. The English doctors were content with insinuating themselves into the good opinion of the ministers in private, and with setting forth the recommendations of their church-polity

in the discourses which they delivered from the principal pulpits in the kingdom. Dr Abbot preached before the General Assembly at Linlithgow, and had public thanks given him for his "excellent sermon *." Such commendations were then less complimentary than they have become in the present charitable age, and I doubt not that the sermon was excellent. Indeed, a more prudent choice of a missionary could not have been made. The amiable manners, moderation, and zeal for the reformed religion by which Abbot was distinguished could not fail to have a prepossessing influence in favour of his opinions. But if his mission contributed to the overthrow of the presbyterian church of Scotland, she, in her fall, took a severe revenge on her rival. In reward of his services on this occasion, Abbot was advanced to the archbishoprick of Canterbury; and we are assured, by those who should know the fact, that his semi-puritanical principles and moderate administration were a principal cause of the subsequent ruin of the hierarchy, and triumph of presbytery, in England †.

From the accounts of the truce which were brought him in the Tower, Melville was at first inclined to form a favourable opinion of that measure. But his nephew, who, from his proximity to the scene of action, had a better opportunity of being acquainted with the exact state of matters, and the real inten-

* MS. in. Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. n. 61.

† Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 383. Clarendon's Hist. i. 88—9. 8vo. 1707.

tions of the ruling party, disapproved of it from the beginning, and had warned his brethren against agreeing to it *. "I am afraid (he says, in a letter to his uncle) that your solution of my difficulties is not satisfactory. These twenty individuals (who met at Falkland) were chosen by the General Assembly to determine all matters that were in controversy. They have decided that the true, and the address approving of the royal measures, shall be published in all the churches of the kingdom, and that none shall speak against them. And they have promised to use all their influence to induce their brethren to acquiesce in this decision. The bishops boast of their success to his Majesty, and appeal to the letter subscribed by all the delegates. It is true that our excellent brethren who have been placed in the front of the battle were far from intending this, and are now grieved at the advantage which has been taken of them. But through their over-confidence in the goodness of the cause and in their own reading, the whole discipline has been called in question. For it has been with the greatest difficulty that I have been able for some time back to restrain Cawichard, Dykes, and certain others from disputation; so secure were these young men in the strength of the cause (which no doubt is commendable) and in their own abilities. But who does not perceive the danger of disputing before such a judge? for the king will be the judge.

* Cald. vii. 126, 202, 289. Melville's Decl. Age, 216.

Therefore I dread the worst—not only the overthrow of the discipline, but also the thraldom of conscience under the mask of forbearance, toleration, and bonds of peace. For what will not episcopal men, popish or protestant, presume to do for the advancement of their schemes? while those of the purer sort will not dare even to mutter. N*. has long ago finished a large answer to Barlow; but unless he can secure a maintenance for his family in exile he is unwilling to publish it, and I cannot urge him. I also have many things in my *Adversaria*, but they are as a sword in its scabbard. In the mean time, 'the Greeks are masters of the city,' which, if not already in flames, is deserted by its defenders†.' Melville could not deny the force of these reasons, but still he was disposed to put a more favourable construction on the conduct of his brethren. "If they have erred (says he, in his answer to the above letter) I am of opinion that they have erred more through fear than self-confidence. If they have been guilty of any oversight, it has proceeded from dejection rather than elation of mind. Nor need we wonder at this, when we recollect what his Majesty has lately published, in his contest with Bellarmine, as to the crimes of the Puritans, and his strong and decided hostility against that party.—If we consider these declarations, we may easily conceive what grounds our brethren had for fear, and how they were induced to ratify the truce ‡.

* Probably Mr John Caermichael, minister of Ely.

† Melvini Epist. pp. 123—125. ‡ Ibid. p. 134.

This was one of the amiable traits in Melville's character. He was himself a stranger to fear; and no man was less disposed to make concessions hurtful to truth, or to give way, even for an hour, to the insidious proposals of its adversaries. Yet there was no man more ready than he was to make allowances for those who failed through defect of courage or of firmness; and provided he was satisfied of their integrity and good intentions, he censured their faults with the utmost reluctance and tenderness. He was even averse to form a harsh judgement of the motives of those individuals whose conduct he most decidedly condemned. "Notwithstanding the stormy season, (says he, in a letter to a friend in Scotland) I have felt nothing hitherto but fair and pleasant weather, keeping both soul and body in a cheerful disposition. Such is the bountiful grace of our merciful heavenly Father toward me in this vale of misery and shadow of death. So that nothing has come against my heart to trouble me, but the affliction of the brethren, and the bearing down of the cause by the ignorance of some and the craft of others; for charity will not suffer me to suspect malice in any *."

James Melville's predictions were soon verified to the full. During the time agreed on for a cessation of hostilities, the bishops were busily employed in strengthening their influence, and in ripening their plans for execution. At the parliament held

* Cal'd. vii. 210.

in 1609, none of the ministers were present to oppose any measures hostile to the church that might be proposed. The Commissary-courts were suppressed; and the power of judging in matrimonial and testamentary causes, and in all others of a mixed kind, which, since the Reformation, had been subjected to commissaries, was transferred to the bishops in their several dioceses *. Large sums of money were expended by the King in buying back the alienated episcopal lands and revenues, that the bishops might live in a stile suitable to their rank †. Archbishop Spotswood was made an Extraordinary Lord of Session, to prepare the way for the restoration of the episcopal order to the place which they had formerly held in that court ‡. But nothing contributed more to the advancement of their designs than the power which they received from the court

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 430—1. The bishops, in a Memorial to him, had requested his Majesty's interposition to procure this power for them. (Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 221. Printed Cald. p. 602.)

† James Melville says that this cost the King "above 300,000 lib. Sterling." (Hist. of the Decl. Age of the Church of Scotland, p. 265. Simsoni Annales, p. 124.)

‡ This was one of the requests in the Memorial referred to in the last note but one. In a letter, dated Feb. 18. 1610, Gladstones says: "Your Majesty may look for uniform and constant service from all my brethren, the prelates, whom also your Majesty will please to encourage,—partly when places in the Session shall vaik by promoting some moe to the same, whilk will both repair the decay of our livings and patrimony, and procure the dependance of the rest of the ministry, who have their fortunes and estates subject to the pleasure of that judicatory." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 68.)

to modify or fix the stipends of the ministers. "By augmentation they allured, by diminution they weakened a number of the ministry; and that so covertly, that one cause was pretended publicly and another alleged in secret *."—"The bishops sit at the helm (says James Melville, in a letter to his uncle); the rest of the commissioners being either removed by them, or withdrawing of their own accord. The bishop of St Andrews keeps a splendid establishment at Edinburgh, consisting of his wife, children, and a great retinue of servants; and ostentatiously displays his silken robes every Sabbath in Bruce's pulpit before the magistrates and nobility. Crowds of poor ministers, mean souls, besiege his door, press round him when he comes abroad, and for the sake of their stipends (the modifying of which is entirely in his power) do every thing but adore him. What say you to this †?" At last, the power of the bishops was carried to the highest pitch to which the King could raise it, by the introduction of the English Inquisition, the court of High Commission. This arbitrary and despotical court, whose proceedings was regulated by no fixed laws or forms of justice, had the power of receiving appeals from any ecclesiastical judicatory, of calling before it all persons accused of error or impropriety, and all preachers and teachers in schools or colleges, charged with speeches which were impertinent, contrary to the established order of the church, or favourable to

* Printed Cald. pp. 574, 578.

† Melvini Epist. p. 125.

those who had been confined or banished for contemptuous offences; and, on finding them guilty, it had power to depose and excommunicate, fine and imprison them. The presence of an archbishop was necessary to the validity of all its meetings, and it was easy for him to summon such associates as were devoted to his will; so that it was to all intents and purposes an episcopal court. "As it exalted the bishops far above any prelate that ever was in Scotland, so it put the King in possession of that which long time he had desired and hunted for, to wit, the royal prerogative and absolute power to use the bodies and goods of his subjects at his pleasure, without form or process of the common law: so that our bishops were fit instruments of the overthrow of the freedom and liberty both of the church and realm of Scotland *."

Being thus Lords of Parliament, Privy Council, Session, Exchequer, and Regality, Patrons of Benefices and Modifiers of Stipends, Constant Moderators and Visitors of Presbyteries, and Royal High Commissioners, the bishops thought they might now safely submit the question of episcopacy to the determination of a General Assembly of the church. Accordingly a meeting of that judicatory was, at their request, appointed to be held at Glasgow in the month of June 1610; royal missives were sent to the presbyteries, nominating the individuals

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 270—276.

whom they should chuse as their representatives to it ; and the Earl of Dunbar came down from London as King's Commissioner, to be present at its deliberations, and to provide that every thing should be done according to the royal will and pleasure *.

His Majesty, in his letter to the Assembly, told the members, that he had expected, that, weary of the anarchy which reigned among them, they would have solicited him to restore the primitive government of the church ; but since they had failed in doing this, either through the culpable backwardness of the bishops or the factious singularity of the meaner rank of ministers, he had been obliged to take up the affair himself. He had called them together, he said, to testify his affection to the church, and “ not because their consent was very necessary”, for “ it was very lawful and granted to him by God” to have done the work “ absolutely out of his own royal power and authority ;” and they would learn, from the Earl of Dunbar and the Archbishop of St Andrews, what was his mind as to those alterations which he was determined to make whether they consented to them or not. The Assembly was not of a temper either to resent or resist these magisterial

* In a common letter sent by the bishops to his Majesty requesting him to call this Assembly, they say ; “ We shall take, by God's help, the most safe and sure way : and what we undertake, we shall be answerable to your Majesty for performance. We have all our ministers, even such as were most refractory, at the point of toleration. They will suffer things to proceed and be quiet, because they cannot longer strive.” (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 66.)

and haughty orders. A committee was appointed to draw up such resolutions as would prove satisfactory to his Majesty, or rather to receive what had already been agreed upon between him and the bishops ; and their report was immediately adopted and approved. The General Assembly held at Aberdeen in the year 1605 was condemned, and the right of calling Assemblies was declared to be a branch of the royal prerogative. The bishops were declared moderators of Diocesan Synods ; and the power of excommunicating and absolving offenders, of ordaining and deposing ministers, and of visiting all the churches within their respective dioceses, was conferred on them. In ordaining or deposing, the bishop was to be assisted by the "ministers of the bounds" (for the name of a *presbytery* was insufferable to the royal ears) ; and if found culpable he might be removed by the General Assembly, " with his Majesty's advice and consent *." But these limitations were merely a blind thrown over the eyes of the simple, and accordingly were excluded from the subsequent parliamentary ratification of the acts of the Assembly. There were only five votes against the decision. Primrose, and some other mi-

* In a letter written to his Majesty, March 14. 1610, Spotswood says " They have at this time a strong apprehension of the discharge of presbyteries ; and, for the standing thereof in any tolerable sort, will refuse no conditions : so it were good to use the opportunity, and cut them short of their power, and leave them a bare name, which for the present may please, but in a little time shall vanish." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. 1, 12. no. 44.)

nisters in Ayrshire, intended to protest against the whole of the proceedings, but means were found to prevent them from carrying their purpose into execution.

Constituted as this Assembly was, it is altogether unnecessary to enter into a particular account of the way in which it was managed. It had no pretensions to be regarded as a regular meeting of the supreme judicatory of the church of Scotland; it had not the semblance of that freedom which belongs to every lawful assembly; and as it would have been less insulting to the nation, so it would have been equally good in point of authority, if the matters enacted by it had been at once proclaimed by heralds at the market-cross, as acts emanating from the royal will. One fact only shall be stated. The Commissioner produced a proclamation, which, he said, he was appointed to publish, abolishing presbyteries and prohibiting them to meet in future. While the alarm and grief produced by this intimation sat on the countenances of the members, some of the nobility, who were instructed to act their part in the farce, rose and entreated the Commissioner to keep back the proclamation until the King was informed of their present proceedings; upon which his lordship, with affected condescension, acceded to their proposal, and promised to join with them in soliciting his Majesty to rest satisfied with what the assembly had done, and to permit the presbyteries to continue. This transaction was industriously circulated through

the country, to induce ministers and people to submit to the obnoxious decisions. Bribery, as well as artifice, was practised on the members of this assembly, which obtained the name of the *angelical* assembly, in allusion to the denomination of the coins distributed on the occasion *. Those who voted with the court endeavoured to excuse their receiving these “wages of unrighteousness,” by alleging that they were given them to defray their travelling expences †.

Thus, after a struggle of more than ten years, was Episcopacy established in Scotland. The way in which it was introduced exhibits a complete contrast to the introduction of the ecclesiastical polity which it supplanted. Presbytery made its way by the weapons of argument and persuasion, without the aid of the civil power, which viewed its progress with a jealous eye, and attempted on more than one occasion to crush it. Its patrons avowed from the beginning all that they intended, and never had

* Sir James Balfour says, the Earl of Dunbar distributed among the ministers “40,000 merks to facilitate the matter and obtain their suffrages.” (Crawford’s Officers of State, p. 398.) Nothing, it was said, was to be seen about Glasgow, for some time after the assembly, but *angels*. A travelling pauper, named James Read, who had been there in the course of his profession, having asked a country minister what he got for his vote, railed on him as a fool for selling his Master for two angels, when he (the pauper) had got three for nothing. (Simeoni Annales, p. 124. Row’s Hist. p. 160. Proceedings of the Assembly helden at Glasgow in 1638. MS. p. 66.)

† Cald. vii. 389—406. Row, 147—155. Melville’s Decl. Age, 277—284. Scot, 233—240. Wedow’s Life of Law, p. 9.

recourse to falsehood or fraud to accomplish their favourite object. And it had been rooted in the opinions and affections of the nation long before it obtained a legal establishment. Episcopacy, on the contrary, was the creature of the state. It had the whole weight of the authority and influence of the crown all along on its side ; and even with this it could not have prevailed, or maintained its ground, without the aid of those arts to which government has recourse for carrying its worst and most unpopular measures. Deceit and perfidy and bribery, were joined to fines and imprisonments and banishments and the terrors of the gibbet. Dissimulation was the grand engine by which the presbyterian constitution was overthrown. While the court disgraced itself by a series of low and over-reaching tricks, the aspiring clergy plunged themselves into the deepest and most profligate perjury. They refused no pledge which the jealousy of the church-courts, awakened by the measures of government, required of them. When engaged in a scheme for overthrowing the established discipline, they renewed the assurances of their inviolable attachment and adherence to it*. With the most solemn asseverations and

* On the 2d of August 1604, all the members of the Presbytery of St Andrews, including Gladstones, renewed their subscription of the National Covenant, and at the same time subscribed the act of parliament 1592, ratifying presbytery, as an authentic explanation of the discipline which they swore to maintain,—“ to testify their harmony and hearty agreement in all things both concerning doctrine and discipline ; promising solemnly to defend the same always, according to their callings, and never to come in the contrary according to the great oath

execrations, they disclaimed all intention of bringing prelacy into the church, and swore to observe "the caveats" enacted to guard against its admission. Every change which was made was declared to be the only one intended; but no sooner had the alarm excited by it been allayed than it was followed by another, until at last the whole system of the hierarchy was introduced and established by the exertions of those who had so frequently disowned and abjured it. It is impossible to find expressions sufficiently strong in reprobating a scene of deliberate, systematic, and persevering prevarication and perfidy, to which it will not be easy to find a parallel in the whole history of political intrigue, and

set down in theforesaid Confession of Faith." And what was the form of this oath? "Promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of Gods fearful judgment. And seeing that many are stirred up,—to promise, swear, and subscribe deceitfully,—we therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his kirk, protest and call the searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath and subscription," &c. To this engagement, sanctioned by this awful appeal and protestation, did Gladstones set his hand immediately after the moderator of the presbytery. (Extract from the Record of Presb. of St And. in Melville's Decl. Age, pp. 109—111.) Spotswood and Law subscribed *the Book of Policy*, among the members of the Presbytery of Linlithgow. (Rec. of Synod of Lothian and Tweedale, Oct. 6. 1591.) In the year 1604, they renewed their pledges. (Simsoni Annal. pp. 89, 107. Printed Calderwood, pp. 484—5.)

which, as practised by church-men, must have had the most pernicious influence on religion, by debasing the character of its ministers, especially in the estimation of the higher ranks, whom they now vied with in honours, and sought to supplant in the highest offices of the state. A victory gained by such arts was more dishonourable than many defeats. It required only another triumph of a similar kind to secure the perpetual proscription of episcopacy from this country, and to fix a stigma upon it which must induce its warmest admirers to wish that every trace of its existence were erased from the annals of Scotland.

A Scottish gentleman of the name of Colville communicated the result of the assembly at Glasgow to Melville. He was much moved by the intelligence; and continued for a considerable time in a state of profound and distressing silence. When his grief at last found utterance, it vented itself in a vehement denunciation against the Commissioner, Dunbar, whom he regarded, and justly, as the prime agent in overturning the ecclesiastical liberties of his native country *. Not that he wanted considera-

* Scot reports Melville's words to have been, "that man (meaning Dunbar) that hath overthrown that kirk and the liberties of Christ's kingdome there shall never have the grace to set his foot in that kingdome againe." (Apolog. Narrat. p. 248.) The same account is given by Row. (Hist. p. 158.) But in the confidential correspondence between Melville and his nephew, there is not the most distant allusion to any prophecy, although Dunbar's death is repeatedly mentioned. It is most probable that a prophetic turn was given to Melville's words after the sudden death of the premier.

tions to alleviate the distress which he felt on this occasion. His conscience acquitted him of having wilfully failed in any part of his duty during the long and painful struggle; and the honour of the cause, though unsuccessful, had not been tarnished. Till he and his brethren were violently removed and restrained, the enemy had gained no real advantage, and, notwithstanding their dependance on the treachery or feebleness of those who were within, durst not attack the citadel. With all his boastfulness, Gladstones acknowledged that they would have been unable to execute their designs, if Andrew Melville had remained in the country and been at liberty. The firm and independent, though oppressed and overborne, opponents of episcopacy were the real victors; and it was not without reason that Melville applied the elegant description of an ancient historian to himself and his fellow-combatants: “*Certatim gloriosa in certamina rubeatur; quodque avidius tum martyria gloriois mortibus querebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur.—Neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus, quam quum decem annorum stragibus vinci non posuimus* *.”

James Melville was as deeply affected as his uncle at the overthrow of presbytery; but it did not surprize him so much, as he was less sanguine in his hopes of a successful resistance, from the

* Melvini Epist. p. 27. ex Sulpitii Severi Hist. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 33.

knowledge which he possessed of the actual state of matters in Scotland. Before the late General Assembly sat down, his fears had anticipated the issue, and he had bewailed it in the most tender strains in his letters to his brethren *. Jealous of his personal interviews and epistolary correspondence with his brethren in Scotland, the bishops had procured an order to remove him from Newcastle to Carlisle, where he would have it less in his power to counteract their plans. The only consolation which he had in the prospect of this change of abode was the opportunity that it would give him of meeting with his much esteemed friend Murray †. But by means of his friends at court he obtained a revocation of the order, and was permitted to take up his residence at Berwick ‡. If he was indebted for this favour to the interest of the Earl of Dunbar, he met at the same time with an injury from that nobleman, which cured him of any inclination which he still felt to rely on his patronage, and which may be added to the numerous

* See his letter to William Scot in Printed Calderwood, p. 614.

† John Murray, minister of Leith, was at this time confined in Dumfries-shire. He was prosecuted for a sermon containing some free remarks on the conduct of the bishops, which had been printed without his knowledge. The Privy Council sustained his defence, but the bishops procured a letter from the King, reprimanding the Council, and ordering Murray into confinement. (Printed Cald. p. 580—2.) His sermon was printed along with “ Informations or a Protestation. A. 1608 ;” but it is rarely to be found in the copies of that tract.

‡ Melvini Epist. pp. 150, 166.

proofs of the good faith of courtiers. "I cannot conceal from you (says he, in a letter to his uncle) the affront which I have received from my lord of Dunbar. On passing through this place to Glasgow, he charged me once and again and a third time—ultraneously charged me, when I was asking no such favour of him, to send for my son Andrew, and have him in readiness to accompany him when he returned to the south; as he intended to place the young man in one of the English universities, and would supply him with every thing that he needed. At great expence I recalled him from France, and, placing him before his lordship on his return, I told him that my son waited his orders. He took no notice of him; but mounting his horse and contracting his brows, stretched out his hand to me, and departed without uttering a word *." This proud man was soon after brought down from his elevation, and laid where "the kings and counsellors of the earth rest with the prisoners, who no longer hear the voice of the oppressor."

Melville was visited in the Tower by several of the supporters of episcopacy, whom he received in such a way as to testify his sense of their courtesy, at the same time that he told them his opinion of their conduct with his characteristical frankness and warmth. "Two of my old scholars (says he) called on me when they were lately here. The sight of them made my mouth water; and I

* Melvini Epist. pp. 183—4.

poured forth my indignation on them in my usual manner. I did not dissemble the injury done to the brethren through their fault. I exhorted them to return to their duty and not to go on to 'fight against God.' The injuries done to myself I forgave the commonwealth and church. I shewed them that the arms of all ought to be turned against the common enemy, unanimity and fraternal concord cultivated, and the exiled brethren recalled. On these points we agreed; only they pleaded that the king is bent on maintaining order, and he must be obeyed in all things:

Et veterem in limo ranæ cecinere querelam.

I parted with these civil gentlemen on the most civil terms; and they of course will trumpet everywhere the praises of your friend's profound erudition *."

Among his visitants was his countryman, John Cameron, who had come over at this time from France. As he was favourable to the ecclesiastical plans of the court, a dispute soon ensued between them. Cameron was dogmatical and loquacious, and Melville was not disposed to allow him to run away with the argument. When they were hotly engaged, the Tower-bell gave warning that all visitors should retire, and the combatants were reluctantly separated. At parting Melville admonished Cameron, that being a young man, he should beware of "being lifted up with pride," and of dis-

* Melvini Epist. p. 54.

paraging that discipline, which, from the Reformation, had formed an integral part of religion in his native country, and had hitherto resisted the attacks of all its adversaries both domestic and foreign *.

Melville had at this time an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with Isaac Casaubon ; but he found the sentiments of that great scholar much altered from what they were when his epistolary correspondence with him commenced. During his residence at the French court, Casaubon's attachment to the reformed religion had been shaken, and the Roman Catholics entertained confident hopes of making him a convert †, when his patron, Henry the Great, was assassinated. On that tragical event he retired into England, and was warmly received by James and the bishops. But though he obtained a dispensation to hold two prebends without entering into holy orders, the tasks allotted to him were neither creditable to his talents nor congenial

* Melvini Epist. pp. 112—3.

† When Rosweid afterwards published that Casaubon intended to profess himself a Roman Catholic, the statement was strongly contradicted by his son Meric, and by Jacobus Cappellus. But it is evident from his own letters, that Casaubon, although he could not easily digest some of the grosser articles of the Popish creed, was seriously deliberating on the change ; and his son has kept back a part of one of his letters which contains strong evidence to that purpose. (Meric Casauboni Epistolæ, p. 85, 89. coll. cum Epist. Isaaci Casauboni, p. 607. Epist. Eccles. et Theol. p. 250.) Du Moulin wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells by all means to detain him in England : as there was every reason to fear his recantation if he returned to France. (Casauboni Vita, ab Almelov. p. 55.)

to his feelings. He who had devoted his life to the cultivation of Grecian and Oriental literature, and who had edited and illustrated *Strabo*, *Athenæus*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Polyænus*, and *Polybius*, was now condemned to drudge in replying to the Jesuit *Fronto Ducæus*, correcting his Majesty's answer to Cardinal *Du Perron*, refuting the *Annals* of Cardinal *Baronius*, and, what was still more degrading, in writing letters to induce his illustrious friend *De Thou* to substitute King James's narrative of the troubles of Scotland in the room of that which he had already published on the authority of *Buchanan*. Melville is mentioned as one of three individuals in whose learned society he found relief from these irksome and ungrateful occupations *. The warm approbation of the constitution of the church of England which *Casaubon* expressed, and the countenance which he gave to the consecration of the Scottish prelates at Lambeth, were by no means agreeable to Melville †. But notwithstanding this, he received frequent visits from him in the Tower ; and on these occasions they entertained and instructed one another with critical remarks on ancient authors, and especially on the *Scriptures* ‡.

* *Casauboni Vita*, p. 54.

† In a letter to *Boyd of Trochrig*, Melville mentions this last circumstance with regret. (Wodrow's *Life of Boyd*, p. 210.)

‡ *Casaubon* has preserved, in his *Ephemerides*, a critical emendation of the common text of 1 *Timothy* iii. 15, 16. which Melville suggested to him at one of these interviews. He proposed to read the passage thus : "These things write I unto thee

From Sir William Wade, the Governor of the Tower, Melville appears to have received every indulgence which was consistent with his duty *. Among his fellow prisoners were Sir Walter Raleigh, and the favourite *Magi* of the Duke of Northumberland †. There were also in the Tower at this time three Scotsmen of the Popish persuasion ; the noted John Hamilton, Paterson, a priest, and Campbell, a Capuchin friar, who were kept under an easy restraint and sumptuously provided for ‡. Melville had several interviews with them ; and waited on the death-bed of Hamilton, whom he exhorted in vain to rely on Jesus Christ for eternal life, and not on the merits of any mere creature §. In the year 1610, Sir William Seymour,

—that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God. The pillar and ground of the truth, and great without controversy, is the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh;” &c. (Casauboniana, pp. 92, 292.) “ *Mira novitas!*” exclaims Causaubon. But this reading is to be found in the Basil editions of the Greek Testament, *annis* 1540 and 1545 ; and has been adopted by several distinguished modern critics.

* Melvini Epist. p. 318, 321, 323.

† Biographia Brit. art. *Harriot, Thomas*.

‡ Ibid. p. 187. In the year 1608, James sent a letter to the Privy Council of Scotland, reprimanding them for overlooking “ Mr John Hamilton.” (Letter from the Connall to his Majestie : Lord Haddington’s Collect.) About the same time Mr Alexander Campell and Mr John Young apologize to his Majesty “ for the resetting of one John Campbell a Capuchin frier.” (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edid. Jac. v. 1, 12.) They were not apprehended till the year 1609.

§ Rob. Johnston, *Hist. Ker. Brit.* p. 460.

afterwards Duke of Hertford, was sent to the Tower for clandestinely marrying the Lady Arabella, who was nearly allied to the royal family. On this occasion Melville composed the following couplet, expressive of the similarity of the cause of Seymour's imprisonment to his own, founded on an allusion to the lady's name, which in Latin signifies *a lovely altar*.

Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris, Ara-bella tibi causa est; Araque sacra mihi *.

These lines he sent to the noble prisoner on his entering the Tower, and the witty distich of "the poetical minister" was much talked of at court †.

In the month of November 1610, upon the return

* The following translation of the lines is given in the *Ba-graphia Britannica*:

From the same cause my woe proceeds and thine,
Your ALTAR lovely is, and sacred thine.

For the imperfection of the translation, the apology of the learned compiler may be sustained, that it is "almost impossible to translate these lines into English without injuring either the sense or the spirit." But he has gone farther wrong in his commentary, in consequence of his being ignorant of the fact that the poet was confined for verses written on the Royal Altar. "The wit (says he) consists in the allusion, grounded on the Lady's name, signifying in Latin, a fair Altar, and Melvin's being committed for the cause of God's altar, at least in his own opinion." (Biogr. Brit. art. *Arabella Stuart*.) This would have been but dull wit, however sound "his own opinion" had been.

† Sir Ralph Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 201. Row's Hist. p. 173

of Lord Wotton, the English ambassador, from France, the Duke of Bouillon sent an application to King James, requesting him to release Melville from the Tower, and allow him to come to his university at Sedan. As the Duke was one of the grandees of France, and at the head of the protestants in that kingdom, James was pleased at having an opportunity to gratify him by granting the request *. It is probable that Melville owed this interposition in his favour to his friend, Aaron Capel, one of the ministers of the French church in London, who had a brother in the University of Sedan. But when he had the prospect of immediately obtaining his liberty, a formidable opposition was made to it from an unexpected quarter. The French ambassador at London thought it proper to acquaint his court with the transaction which was going on between the Duke of Bouillon and James. The Queen Regent instantly wrote, that, considering the spirit and other qualities of Melville, she did not judge it safe that he should come into her kingdom, where there was already a sufficient number of persons of a turbulent and restless disposition: and therefore charged her ambassador to throw obstacles in the way of this, by representing to James and his ministers, that it was not reasonable to send to France an individual whom they had found it necessary to lay under restraint at home on account of his seditious disposi-

* Melvini Epist. p. 179.

tion and behaviour *. At an interview with his Majesty, the ambassador laid this representation before him. James professed himself greatly embarrassed in consequence of his promise to Bouillon. The request, he said, had been publicly presented by Lord Wotton ; and, never suspecting that a Marshal of France, and one of the principal councillors of her Majesty, had not made her acquainted with the proposal, he had readily acceded to it, on condition that the prisoner should not be allowed either to preach or publish, but should confine himself to reading and teaching in Sedan. At the same time, he professed his desire to oblige the Queen in this and all other matters ; and merely requested, that, with the view of disengaging him from his promise, she should speak to the Duke in such a manner as to prevent him from insisting on his request. In the course of this conversation, his Majesty discovered his strong antipathy to Melville ; and to increase the fears which the Queen entertained of him, gave a short history of his life which was not very consistent with truth. The Duke of Bouillon, he said, would not be so fond to obtain him if he were as well acquainted with his fierce and contentious humour as he was. After he came from Geneva, where he was educated, he had been placed in one of the universities of Scotland, which he kept in continual broils during the four years that he re-

* *De la Boderie, Ambassades, tom. v. pp. 513—515.*

mained in it: On this account his Majesty was obliged to remove him from it and place him in another university, which, although perfectly peaceable before, he also involved in trouble: Finally, being called up to London on this ground, he was no sooner there than he fell upon his Majesty and his principal councillors, whom he treated so abusively that it became necessary, in order to prevent something worse, to shut him up in the Tower, where he still remained *. The Queen Regent addressed a second despatch to her ambassador, instructing him to persevere in his opposition to Melville's journey †. The secret, however, was, that the French court were not so much afraid of the seditious spirit of the Scottish Professor, as they were offended at Bouillon for presenting such a request without their knowledge, and jealous of his intercourse with the court of London ‡. It is probable that the Duke made a satisfactory apology for the step which he had taken; for the Queen Regent withdrew her opposition.

Melville had sent the earliest information of the change in his prospects to his nephew. "The Duke of Bouillon has applied to the king, by the ambassador Wotton and by letters, for liberty to me to go to France. His Majesty is said to have yielded. I am in a state of suspense as to the course which I ought to take. There is no room for me in Britain on account of pseudo-episcopacy—

* *De la Boderie*, tom. v. pp. 530—533.

† *Ibid.* p. 541.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 517.

no hope of my being allowed to revisit my native country. Our bishops return to you after being anointed with the waters of the Thames. Alas for liberty! piety is overthrown, religion banished! —I have nothing new to write you, except the scruple about my banishment. I reflect upon the laborious part of my life spent in my native country during the space of thirty-six years, the idle life which I have been condemned to spend in prison, the reward which I have received from men for my labours, the inconveniences of old age, and other things of a similar kind, taken in connection with the disgraceful bondage of the church and the base perfidy of men. But in vain: I am still in hesitation what resolution to adopt. Shall I desert my station? shall I fly from my native country, from my native church, from my very self? Or, shall I deliver myself up, like a bound quadruped, to the will and pleasure of men? No: sooner than do this, I am resolved, by the grace of God, to bear any extremity. But as long as my fate remains undetermined, my mind must be kept in a state of anxiety. Be assured, however, that nothing earthly affects me so deeply as the treachery of men to God, and the defection of the church in this critical conjuncture. Yet our adversaries have not all the success which they could wish—but I dare not write all that I could tell you by word of mouth. Our affairs are in a bad state, but there is still ground of hope. Take care of your health, and send me

in one word, and as quickly as possible, your advice. Shall I go, or, shall I remain *?"

It is evident from this letter that he felt reluctant to go abroad. He was become attached to his native country by a long residence in it. Though he had no family of his own, he had formed attachments which were nearly as close and endearing as those which are strictly domestic. His health and spirits were still uncommonly good; but he had arrived at that period of life when the mind loses its elastic spring and its power of accommodating itself to external circumstances; and he felt averse to enter upon a new scene of action in a country where the people and the manners had undergone a complete change since he had known it. There were, therefore, no sacrifices, those of conscience and honour excepted, which he was not prepared to make in order to obtain permission to remain in Scotland.

James Melville knew that all hopes of this kind were vain, and therefore wrote him to embrace the offer which was in his power. "Pluck up courage, and prepare to obey the call of providence. Perhaps this is 'a man of Macedonia'—a messenger from God to invite you to the help of the inhabitants of Burgundy and Lorrain. Like the apostle, 'let none of these things move you, neither count your life dear that you may finish your course with joy and the ministry which you have received of

* Melvini Epist. pp. 173—175.

the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.'

Te si fata tuis paterentur ducere vitam
Auspiciis, et sponte tua componere curas,
Urbem Trojanam primum
Sed nunc Italiam

Seeing you are bound like Jeremiah, you must go whither you are led, though not in obedience to the will of men, yet in cheerful submission to the will of God, who will keep you in all his ways. So far as I can see there is no choice left, but a hard necessity is imposed on you. I may add, that those who are joined with you in the same cause, and I in particular, would esteem it the greatest favour to have it in our power to accompany you. For what can I look for but continued distress of mind, whether here or at home? Take this then as my answer to your question, Either I must go abroad, or death will soon be the consequence. I intreat you to act the part of Joseph, and procure for me an invitation from the illustrious Duke, to serve in the church or in the schools of France. I know the king will readily accede to his request; but if I leave the country without the royal licence, I will incur proscription and confiscation. Melissa is as desirous of being with you as I am, and is ready to accompany me wherever providence may direct my course. She lately sent you, as a mark of her regard, a small present, consisting of an embroidered cloak, a neck-kerchief, and some other articles, trimmed with her

own hand. Have you not received them?—I know not how it is, but my soul fails and melts within me, and the tears rush into my eyes at the thought, of which I cannot get rid, that I shall see your face no more. While I write, my sweet Melissa, the only earthly solace of my solitude and exile, overcome with womanly grief, bedews my bosom with her tears, and desires me to bid you a long farewell. And I—Would to God you had long ago closed my eyes at Montrose. I can write no more. Eternal blessings rest upon you *."

While Melville remained in a state of suspense, he resolved to make an attempt to regain his liberty on terms less hard than banishment. He addressed a letter to Sir James Sempill, in which, after modestly stating his claims, "at least to an honest retreat from warfare, with the hope of burial with his ancestors," he offered his services to Prince Henry, who was then in the seventeenth year of his age †. The Prince, whose character was in every respect the reverse of his father's, would, if he had been left to his own choice, have received him into his family with the utmost pleasure. But there was no ground to hope that the King would permit such an instructor to be placed about the person of his son, of whose active spirit and popularity he was already become jealous. Melville wisely committed

* Melvini Epist. pp. 176, 184.

† Original Letter to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees: MS. in Archiv. Eccl. Scot. vol. 28. no. 6.

the affair wholly to the discretion of Sir James Sempill, Sir James Fullerton, and Thomas Murray. Murray was tutor and afterwards secretary to Prince Charles, and equally distinguished for literary accomplishments and the more valuable qualities of the heart *. All the three had been Melville's scholars at St Andrews, and he placed a more entire dependence on them than on any others of his acquaintance about the court. In his letters he often expresses a grateful sense of the kindness which they had shewn him during his imprisonment. Of Sempill in particular he writes in the following terms to his nephew : " Did my friend Sempill, the assertor of my liberty, visit you in passing ? If he did, as he promised he would, why have you not said a word about him ? All my friends owe much to him on my account. He takes a warm interest in my

* He was the son of —— Murray of Woodend. (Douglas's Baronage, p. 286.) His Latin poems, which were published separately, are included in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* Various tributes were paid to him by the poets of the age. (Leochaei Epigrammata, pp. 38, 44, 87. Dumbari Epigr. p. 114. Arct. Jonstoni Poem. p. 281. Middelb. 1642.) In the year 1615, an attempt was made by Archbishop Gladstones, to have him removed from the Prince, " as ill-affected to the estate of the kirk." (Letters from Archb. Spotswood to Mr Murray of the Bedchamber, Jan. 30, and Feb. 6. 1615. Wedrow's Life of Spotswood, pp. 51—2.) His appointment to be Provest of Eton College, in the year 1621, was opposed, partly on suspicions of his puritanism. (Cabala, pp. 289, 290.) He died " anno xxi. 59. A. D. 1623. April 9." (Le Neve, Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 86.) and left behind him five sons and two daughters. (Will, extracted from Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.)

studies as well as in the welfare of my person ; and, what is more, I am persuaded that he takes a warm interest in the cause. The court does not contain a more religious man, one who unites greater modesty with greater genius, and a more matured judgment with more splendid accomplishments. In procuring for me a mitigation of my imprisonment, he has shewn, both by words and deeds, a constancy truly worthy of a Christian. If you meet with him on his return (for he means to return with your hero) thank him on my account ; for he will not rest satisfied until he has effected my complete liberation *."

In the month of February 1611, Melville received a letter from the Duke of Bouillon, stating that he had procured his release from the Tower, and inviting him to Sedan †. On this occasion he felt great embarrassment as to pecuniary matters. The government was so illiberal as to make him no allowance for bearing his expences. He had been obliged to support himself in the Tower, where every individual who performed the smallest service expected to be rewarded according to the rank of

* Melvini Epist. p. 78. Three epigrams by Melville are prefixed to a work against Selden by Sir James Sempill, entitled, "Sacrilegious sacredly handled—Lond. 1619." 4to. Sir James was the author of "Cassandra Scoticana to Cassandra Anglicanus" (See above, p. 280.) ; and, in part at least, of a satirical poem against the church of Rome, called "The Packman's Pater Noster."—Robert Boyd of Trochrig, in mentioning Sempill's death, February 1625, extols his character and his friendship for Melville. (Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 148.)

† Cald. vii. 466.

the prisoner. His finances were so much exhausted that he could not fit himself out for making an appearance in a foreign country becoming his station and connections. And his nephew, on account of certain extraordinary expences which he had lately incurred, felt himself unable to relieve him. The urgency of his necessities and the delicacy of his feelings are well described in a letter written by him at this time to James Melville, relating to a collection which his friends in Scotland proposed to make for him. "Our friend of Ely (says he) writes me that I owe much to our brother at Stirling; referring, I suppose, to the collection which has been so much talked of, and which, I am afraid must be viewed in the light of an exaction rather than a voluntary offering, and a gift to men rather than God. I know that I am under great obligations to Patrick both on public and private grounds. But my nature will not suffer me, as the orator says, to enrich myself from the spoils of others, and especially of strangers on whom I have no claims. I acknowledge that it is not so unreasonable that my necessities should be relieved by such of my brethren as are able and willing, considering that I am reduced to these straits not for any evil that I have done, but for the public cause of Christ which they profess in common with me. That 'it is more blessed to give than to receive' is an apostolical saying, which it is easier to use and act upon when fortune flows than when it ebbs. As it is the mark of a haughty mind to spurn the benevolence of brethren,

so, on the other hand, it does not suit my disposition to grasp at money which has been wheedled from a promiscuous multitude by fair and flattering speeches. Necessity, you will say, has no law. But what necessity can be so great as to warrant one to compromise the character of a good man, or to sacrifice one's reputation ? To sound a trumpet in bestowing a favour betrays ostentation ; and an ingenuous and modest person will not be fond of having a noise made at the receiving of a favour. It was always my desire to be concealed in the crowd, even when the field of honour appeared to ripen before me. But I act a foolish part in reasoning so stoically about gifts of which nothing has yet reached me but the sound. I will not give a price for hope ; nor will I ever, on my own account, extort money by eucharistical letters. What I am requested to do is, to give thanks to Simson and Gillespie, (both of them most deserving men) and to their flocks, with the view of stimulating them to the making of a collection. This, if not a preposterous, is certainly not a very honourable course. There are many things I could do for others which I would blush to do for myself. Advise me how to act, or rather take the management of the business into your own hands. You know how utterly unpractised I am in such affairs *." The collection was made and remitted to him ; but it came so late as almost to prove, as he expresses it, *moutarde après diner* †.

* Melvini Epist. pp. 167—170.

† Ibid. pp. 176, 185.

His health had hitherto remained uncommonly good ; but it began at last to suffer from confinement, and he was seized with a fever. On the certificate of the physicians he was permitted to leave the Tower, and to enjoy the free air for a few days within ten miles of London. But he was prohibited from coming near the court of the King, Queen, or Prince *. During this interval he was visited by the Earl of Cassilis, who insisted on making another attempt to procure liberty for him to return to his native country. But although his lordship exerted all his influence, the terms dictated by the court were so hard that Melville rejected them at once †. Some of the Scottish bishops who happened to be in London joined in the Earl's application ; and Spotswood went so far as to request, publicly on his knees, that Melville might be sent to the University of Glasgow. His Majesty hearkened the farce, by turning to his courtiers, and extolling the Christian spirit which the archbishop had displayed in interceding for the capital enemy of his order †.

Having recovered his health, Melville sailed for France, after having been a prisoner in the Tower for the space of four years. Before going aboard the vessel he wrote the following hasty lines to his affectionate nephew :

* Cald. vii. 466.

† Melvini Epist. p. 295.

‡ Row's Hist. pp. 348—9. We can be at no loss in judging of Spotswood's sincerity on this occasion, after reading what he has said of Melville's banishment, in his History, pp. 499, 500.

" My dear son, my dear James, farewell, farewell in the Lord, with your sweet Melissa. I must now go to other climes. Such is the pleasure of my divine and heavenly Father; and I regard it as a fruit of his paternal love towards me. Why should I not, when he has recovered me from a sudden and heavy distemper, and animates me to the journey by so many tokens of his favour. Now at length I feel the truth of the presage which I have frequently pronounced, That it behoved me to confess Christ on a larger theatre; which, so far as it may yet be unfulfilled, shall soon, I augur, receive a complete verification. In the mean time I retain you in my heart, nor shall any thing in this life be dearer to me, after God, than you. The excellent Capel has in the most friendly manner recommended you by letter to the Duke of Bouillon, but has as yet received no answer. To-day I set out on my journey under the auspices of Heaven: May the God of mercy give it a prosperous issue. Join with me in supplicating that it may turn out to his glory and the profit of his church. Although I have no uneasiness about my library, yet I must request you to charge those who are intrusted with its keeping to be careful of it, both for my sake, and for the sake of the church, to which I have dedicated myself and all my property. Who knows but we may yet meet again to give thanks publicly to God for all his benefits to us. Why should we not cherish the hope of better days; seeing the fraud and pride of our enemies have brought us to a

condition which appears to prognosticate the ruin of the lately reared fabric? Our three pretended bishops affirm that they urged, and on their knees supplicated his Majesty to restore me to my native country ; but you know the disposition of the men, and what was the drift of their request. In the mean time write me frequently by Capel concerning every thing, and especially if any thing is done respecting the ecclesiastical history. I am much grieved at the imprisonment of my young friend Balfour, your sister's son : if, by the assistance of foreigners, I can procure his liberty, I shall look upon it as a favour conferred on myself. The vessel is under weigh, and I am called aboard. My salutations to all friends. The grace of God be with you always. From the Tower of London—just embarking—on the day after the funeral of your Mœcenas, the 19th of April, 1611.

Your's as his own, in the Lord,

Andrew Melville *."

* Melvini Epist. pp. 188—190.

CHAPTER XIII.

1611—1622.

Melville's reception in France—Scotsmen in the protestant universities there—university of Sedan—Melville's employment in it—his correspondence with his nephew—death of Robert Wilkie and John Jonston—Melville leaves Sedan for a short time—intelligence from Scotland—constancy of Forbes and other banished ministers—death of James Melville—Scottish students at Sedan—Melville opposes the Arminian sentiments—his opinion of the articles of the Perth Assembly—defence of the Scottish church against Tilenus—changes on university of St Andrews—Melville's health declines—his death—character and writings.

ON landing in France, Melville stopped for a short time at Rouen. At Paris he was affectionately received by one of his scholars, George Sibbald of Rankeillor-over and Giblistoun, who was then prosecuting his studies in the French capital, and who, after taking the degree of Doctor in Medicine at Padua, spent his time in promoting literature and science in his native coun-

try *. He was also hospitably entertained by Du Moulin, the well-known protestant minister of Paris, who was greatly pleased with the learning which he displayed in conversation. The Frenchman had heard that he was *un peu colere*, and therefore was afraid to enter with him on a controversy which was then keenly agitated among the protestants of France. These fears were however groundless; for Melville's sentiments on that subject were very moderate. After remaining a few days in Paris, he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university †.

The protestants of France had at this time six Universities; Montauban, Saumur, Nismes, Montpellier, Die, and Sedan †. Besides these they had fifteen Colleges, erected in other parts of the Kingdom, in which languages, philosophy, and belles let-

* Sibbald expresses his eagerness to see Melville, after his long imprisonment, in the beautiful words of Hotkate, (Cariss. lib. iv. od. 5.) *Ut mater iugementum, &c.* (Letter to Boyd of Trochrig, May 14. 1611. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 53.) Dr George Sibbald is mentioned in *Inquis. Retornat. Spec. Fife.* no. 118. comp. no. 123. *Vita Arct. Johnstoni; Poet. Scot. Musse Sacre*, tom. 1. pp. *xxx, xlii, xlii*. Dumbart. Epigram, p. 183. There are a number of his MSS. in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. His only printed work, as far as I know, besides his academical theses, is *"Regulæ bene et valde brevi vivendi—Edinb. 1601,"* published by his nephew, Sir Robert Sibbald.

† Letter from Du Moulin to Boyd of Trochrig, May 29. 1611. Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 56.

‡ Quick's Synodicon, vol i. pp. 330, 382, 387—8. This is exclusive of those of Pan, Orthes and Lescar (the two last were united) in the Kingdom of Navarre and Bearn.

tres were taught*. The number of Scotsmen who taught in these seminaries was great. They were to be found in all the universities and colleges; in several of them they held the honorary situation of Principal; and in others they amounted to a third part of the Professors. Most of these had been educated under Melville at St Andrews †.

The territory of Sedan and Raucourt had long formed a separate principality, governed by its own laws, under the Dukes of Bouillon, who were petty sovereigns, but subject to the crown of France. About the year 1578, a university was erected in the town of Sedan by Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon ‡. By marrying his only child, Henry de la Tour, Viscount of Turenne, had succeeded to his titles and domains §. He proved a patron to the university, which was supported partly by his munificence, and partly by a sum of money annually allotted to it from the funds of the National Synod. It had professorships of Theology, Hebrew, Greek, Law, Philosophy, and Humanity ||. Walter Don-

* Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. 275, 380, 388.

† It was my intention to subjoin, in the notes, an account of such Scotsmen as were teachers in the protestant academies of France; but I find that there is not room for it.

‡ Emanuel Tremellius was professor of Hebrew at Sedan when he died in 1580. (Melch. Adami *Vite Exter. Theol.* p. 143. Teissier, *Eloges*, iii. 179.)

§ Marsollier, *Histoire de Henry de la Tour, Dac de Bouillon*, pp. 139, 167, 173. *Vie de Mornay du Plessis*, pp. 153, 219. Laval, *Hist. of the Reform. in France*, vi. 879.

|| Quick, i. 330, 342. Bayle, *Dict. art. Porrot, Nicole*. Bayle had been a professor at Sedan. Henry IV. allotted 45,000 crowns

aldson, a native of Aberdeen, and known as the author of several learned works, was Principal, and Professor of Natural and Moral Philosophy, during all the time that Melville was in the University *. Another of his countrymen, John Smith, was also a Professor of Philosophy †. James Capellus, one of the ministers of Sedan, taught the Hebrew Class. Though not so acute and bold a critic as his brother Lewis, he was possessed of extensive learning, and lived on terms of great intimacy with Melville ‡. The Professor of Divinity was Daniel

annually to the National Synod ; and Lewis XIII. added 45,000 livres. In 1609, the Synod granted to the University of Sedan 1500 l. of which 700 l. was to be given to the professor of divinity. The annual sum given to it from 1612 to 1620 was 4000 l. (Aymons, *Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reform. de France*, tom. i. p. 378.)

* Donaldsoni Synopsis Oeconomica, Praefat. Paris. 1620. Two other works of his are mentioned in Bayle, Dict. art. *Donaldson, Gualter.* He is called "Poeta Langatus," (Leochæi Epigram. p. 21.) that is, one who had taken a degree in grammar and rhetoric. "Walterus Donaldson armiger, utriusque juris doctor apud Ropellam in Gallia, natus in abredonia—fuit filius legitimus Alexandri Donaldson Armigeri (ex nobilissima et antiquissima familia donaldorum in regno nostro Scotie oriund.) et Elizabethæ Lamb quæ fuit filia legitima Davidis Lamb, Baronis de Dunkenny." (Literæ Prosopæ Alex^{ri} Donaldson Medicinæ Doctoris, dat. Edim. Nov. 15. 1642 : MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6. 26. p. 21. Conf. A. 3. 19. no. 116.)

† Steph. Morinus, *Vita Sam. Bocharti*, p. 2. apud Bocharti Opera, tom. i.

‡ Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, pp. 157, 223. Colomes says: "Ludovicus Capellus, Jacobi unicus frater." Bot in a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, Ludovicus calls Aaron Capel in London his brother. (Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 80.) There are two poems by Melville prefixed to a work of James Capellus, entitled

Tilenus, a native of Silesia, who, having come to France in his youth, recommended himself to the chief persons among the protestants by his conduct as tutor of the Lord of Laval, and as a writer in defence of the reformed cause *. The profession of Divinity, which Tilenus had hitherto sustained alone, was now divided between him and Melville. The former taught the system, while the latter prelected on the Scriptures. Each delivered three lectures in the week, and they presided alternately in the theological disputationst.

In the beginning of the year 1612 Melville was gratified by receiving an affectionate letter from his nephew. "Ah, my dear father! Are you well? where are you? what are you doing? do you still remember me? I have almost forgotten you for some months, so much has my attention been occupied with my petition to the king. I have received for answer, that I can have no hopes but in the way of yielding an absolute submission to the decrees of the late Assembly at Glasgow: so that I despair of returning to my native country." Before he had

"*Historia Sacra et Exotica—Sedani 1613.*" Capellus introduces Melville's opinion on a question which he discusses in the course of that work, calling him "vir doctissimus et collega charissimus." (*Hist. Sacr. p. 236. Wolfi Curse Crit. in Nov. Test. tom. iii. p. 657.*)

* *Memoires de Mornay du Plessis, tom. ii. pp. 455—6. Quick, Synod. vol. i. p. 187. Epistres Françaises à Mons. de la Sçla, p. 420.*

† Mons. de Lanpe to Trochrig; Sedan, Nov. 20. 1611. (Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 58.)

an opportunity of answering this letter, Melville received two others from the same quarter, expressing great distress at not having heard from him, and communicating ample intelligence respecting the state of matters in Scotland. The bishops were triumphing in the exercise of their newly acquired pre-eminence, and daily received fresh proofs of the royal favour. A remark of Chancellor Seaton was much talked of: "If our bishops get the kingdom of heaven they must be happy men; for they already reign on earth." Not satisfied with ruling the church-comts, they claimed an extensive civil authority within their dioceses. The burghs were deprived of their privileges, and forced to receive such magistrates as their episcopal superiors, in concert with the court, were pleased to nominate*. No opposition was at this

* In the year 1609, archbishop Spotswood put a stop to the election of the magistrates of Glasgow; and wrote the King in the following terms: "In all humblenes I present my opinion to your most sacred Majesty that it may be your Highnes gracious pleasure to command them of new to elect the Baillies that were nominate by your Majesty in your first letter, and to signify that it is your Highnes mind that they have no Provost at this time." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 65.) Two years after he treated the town of Ayr in the same manner. (Letter Spotswood to Beltree, Oct. 12. 1611. Wodrow's Life of Spotswood, p. 36.) Archbishop Gladstones, in a letter to the King, June 9. 1611, says: "It was your pleasure and direction,—that I should be possessed with the like privileges in the electione of the magistrats there (in St Andrews), as my lord of Glasgow is endued with in that his city.—Sir, whereas they are troublesome, I will be answerable to your Majesty and Counsell for them, after that I be possessed of my right." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 72.)

time made to them. The nation had not yet recovered from the terror inspired by the threatening proclamations of the King, and the despotical powers conferred on the High Commission. "How shall I mention the state of our church?" says James Melville. "It overwhelms me with grief, shame and confusion. All those whose duty it is to care for it have laid aside their concern. The pulpits are silent. A deep sleep has fallen down upon our prophets. The hands of all are bound, Isachar crouches, like an ass under his two burdens. The pangs of death are come upon me: fear and trembling have seized me: horror hath covered me, O that I had the wings of a dove, that I might fly, that I might wander far away, and ledge in the desert!"

James Melville informed his uncle of the decease of two of his most intimate acquaintance in the University of St Andrews. "The father of St Leonard's College, our steady friend Wilkie, has happily ended his days. He has left all his property to the college, and nominated our acquaintance Bruce for his successor, to whom he kindly commended the care of my John. I hope your muse will not be forgetful of that good man and sincere friend. How much more happy is he than I! But I trust I shall not be long in following him. Indeed, unless you had survived to animate me, and my Melissa had watched over my health, my poor soul, pierced with wounds, would ere now have quitted its prison. But I endure by the strength of God,

and comfort myself with your words, 'Who knows but we may yet meet again?' When will that day arrive *?"—"Your colleague, John Jonston (says he, in his letter of the 25th November) closed his life last month. He sent for the members of the university and presbytery, before whom he made a confession of his faith, and professed his sincere attachment to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in which he desired to die. He did not conceal his dislike of the lately erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud, and whole conduct of the bishops. He pronounced a grave and ample eulogium on your instructions, admonitions, and example; craving pardon of God and you for having offended you in any instance, and for not having borne more meekly with your wholesome and friendly anger. As a memorial of him he has left you a gilt velvet cap, a gold coin, and one of his best books †. His death would have been a most mournful event to the church, university, and all good men, had it not been that he has for several years laboured under an incurable disease, and that the ruin of the church has swallowed up all lesser sorrows and exhausted our tears ‡."

* This letter is dated July 15. 1611. (Melvini Epist. pp. 193—196.)

“ † Item, I leave in taikin of my sinceir love and affectionoun to Mr Andro Melvill ane fyne new Duche cap of fyne blak velvet, lynit w^t fyne martrik skinnes.” (Testament of John Jonston.) He died Oct. 20. 1611.

‡ Melvini Epist. pp. 196, 281. There are five of Jonston's letters printed in *Camdeni Epist.* pp. 41, 75, 95, 123, 127; and

The answers which Melville returned to these letters were calculated to cheer the spirits of his tender-hearted nephew. "Your letter, my dear James, gave me as much pleasure as it is possible for one to receive in these gloomy and evil days. We must not forget the apostolical injunction, 'Rejoice always: rejoice in hope.' *Non si male nunc, et olim erit.* Providence is often pleased to grant prosperity and long impunity to those whom it intends to punish for their crimes, in order that they may feel more severely from the reverse.

Μηδὲνα διδοτοι ευτυχισμενοι, αλλ' οικιας
Τας συμφορας λαβωνοι επιφανοτηρας.

No oracular response pronounced from the tripod of Apollo was ever truer than this couplet of Pindar*. It is easy for a wicked man to throw a commonwealth into disorder: God only can restore it. Empires which have been procured by fraud cannot be stable or permanent. Pride and cruelty will meet with a severe, though it may be a

a number of his poems are to be found in Cambden's *Britannia*. In Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd (pp. 43, 47, 53.) are several of his letters, and particularly one containing an account of certain of his MSS. which he sent to be printed at Saumur. He married Catherine Melville, of the house of Carnbee. (Appendix to Lamont's Diary, p. 285.) In his *Consolatio Christiana* (pp. 101—2.) are epitaphs which he wrote on her and two of their children. An attempt was made to obtain him for second minister of Haddington. (Record of Presb. of Haddington, Oct. 24, 1599; June 11, and 18, and July 2. 1600.)

* Aristotle quotes the lines as from a poet unknown. (Rhetoric. L. 2. c. 24. ed. Gouletoni.) They are included in the *Fragmента of Euripides*. (Eurip. a Beck, tom. 2. p. 496.)

late, retribution ; and, according to the Hebrew proverb, 'when the tale of bricks is doubled, Moses comes.' The result of past events is oracular of the future. 'In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.' Why then exert our ingenuity and labour in adding to our vexation ? Away with fearful apprehensions !' The following quotation is a specimen of the familiar and classic pleasantry which he was accustomed to use with his friends. "What is the *profound Dreamer* * (so I was accustomed to call him when we travelled together in 1584)—what is our Corydon of Haddington about ? I know he cannot be idle : has he not brought forth or perfected any thing yet, after so many decades of years ? *Tempus Atla veniet tua quo spoliabitur arbos.* I wish also to know if our old friend Wallace has at last become the father of books and bairns ? Menalcas of Cupar on the Eden † is, I hear, constant ; and I hope he will prove vigilant in discharging all the duties of a pastor, and not mutable in his friendships, as too many discover themselves to be in these cloudy days. Salute him in my name ; as also Damoetas of Elie ‡, and our friend Dykes, with such others as you know to 'hold the beginning of their confidence and the rejoicing of their hope firm to the end.' And, pray, do not forget my venerable old cousin, who must now, I fear, be at the brink of the grave,

* " *Batvōgen songecroux.*" The person referred to is James Carmichael, minister of Haddington.

† William Scot, minister of Cupar in Fife.

‡ John Carmichael, minister of Elie.

and who has so long been afflicted with gout, gravel, and colic. When I came to this country I was the means of releasing his son from prison ; and I still look for his letters of thanks. It will give me the greatest pleasure, in this retirement of mine, to hear from him and his relations, and to be informed of every thing about them. I must not forget the laird of Dysart, the present chief of our family ; nor the baron of Rossie, our kinsman. We old men daily grow children again, and are ever and anon turning our eyes and thoughts back on our cradles. We praise the past days, especially when we can take little pleasure in the present. Suffer me then to doat ; for I am now become pleased with old age, although I have lived so long as to see some things which I could wish never to have seen. I try daily to learn something new, and thus to prevent my old age from becoming listless and inert. I am always doing, or at least attempting to do, something in those studies to which I devoted myself in the younger part of my life. Accept this long epistle from a talkative old man. *Loqui senibus res est gratissima*, says your favourite Palingenius, the very mention of whose name gives me new life ; for the *regeneration* * forms almost the sole topic of my meditations, and in this do I exercise myself that I may have my conversation in heaven."—" Your account of the happy death of my colleague Jonston filled me with mingled grief and joy. He was a man of real piety,

* *Palingenesis*.

tenacious of the purity of religion, and of a most courteous disposition. The university has lost a teacher, the church a member, and I a friend, to whom there are few equal."—"I cannot refrain from bewailing the death of my friend Myrrha, and the loss which I, in common with all good men, have sustained by the removal of that most pious woman *. How dearly I loved her you know, and our friend Godscroft knows better than any other man. Remember me kindly to him, and say that his letter and poems have at last reached me. Often has the decease of that choice woman drawn tears from my eyes since I received the afflicting tidings. At this moment my grief breaks out afresh—but I restrain myself †."

One of the first things which he did after his settlement at Sedan was to look out for an eligible situation for his nephew. But, however desirous of his company, he was obliged to discourage him from coming to the continent. "I know (says he) you will do nothing rashly in your own affair. At present there is no room for you here either in the church or academy. And I am afraid that the

* It appears from a letter of James Melville, that the lady here referred to was a sister of John Murray, Minister of Leith. "Joannes Murraus, triumphantis tue Myrrhae frater, et Joannes Carus Fadonsidius, Johnstoni tui nunc in caelo ovantis, gener: qui viri!" (Melvini Epist. p. 903.) John Murray had two sisters married, the one to Sir Robert Douglas of Spot and the other to Sir William Moncrieff of that Ilk. (Douglas's Baronage, pp. 45, 102.)

Melvini Ep. pp. 293 —295.

variableness and humidity of the climate in the Low Countries would be injurious to your health. Will Mar do nothing for you or for the public cause? Will Lennox do nothing? Nor the other noblemen who are in favour with his Majesty? What crime have you committed? What has the Monarch now to dread? Does not the Primate sit in triumph,—*traxitque sub astra furorem*? What is there then to hinder you, and me also, (now approaching my seventieth year, and consequently *emeritus*) from breathing our native air, and, as a reward of our toils, being received into the Prytaneeum, to spend the remainder of our lives, without seeking to share the honours and affluence which we do not envy the pretended bishops? We have not been a dishonour to the kingdom, and we are allied to the royal family. But let envy do its worst, no prison, no exile shall prevent us from confidently expecting the kingdom of heaven *."

When Melville first went to Sedan, his friends in France were apprehensive that he would not find his situation quite comfortable †. He had every reason to be satisfied with the polite and munificent behaviour of the Duke of Bouillon ‡. But the number of students in the university was small. His colleague Tilenus was a man of talents, but haughty and morose. He was a keen stickler for the peculiar tenet of Piscator, and some other opinions which were generally disliked by the French

* Melvini Ep. p. 296.

† Wedrow's Life of Boyd, p. 56.

‡ Melvini, Epist. p. 292.

ministers. Melville did not enter into these disputes, and treated all the students, whatever their sentiments respecting them were, with equal civility and attention. But Tilenus could not conceal his antipathy to such young men as thought differently from himself, or who came from academies in which his opinions were rejected ; and in consequence of this many of them left Sedan and went to Saumur *. In these circumstances Melville was induced to listen to the proposals of Monsieur de Barsack, Treasurer of the Parliament of Dauphiny, who wished him to superintend the education of his three sons. An annual salary of five hundred crowns was promised him, and he was to be allowed either to reside with the young men at Grenoble, or to take them along with him to Die, provided he obtained a professorship in the university which was erected in that town. He went to Grenoble, in the month of November 1612, to make a trial of the situation ; but, not finding it agreeable to his mind, he returned within a short time to Sedan †.

The intelligence which he received on returning to Grenoble was not of a cheering description. A letter from his friend Welwood at London conveyed to him the melancholy tidings of the

* Melvini Epistole, p. 293. Letter from Mons. de Laune, a student at Sedan : in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, pp. 57—8. In the year 1612 the students of Sedan did not amount to a third of those of Saumur, who, in the year 1606, were upwards of 400. (Life of Boyd, pp. 28, 58.)

† Letter from G. Sibbald ; in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 59.

death of Prince Henry, by which the hopes of all good men in Britain and on the continent were blasted *. Letters from his nephew at Berwick and from Alexander Hume at Prestonpans, informed him that the Parliament of Scotland had, in compliance with a royal injunction, conferred spiritual powers on the bishops more extensive than those which they had presumed to ask from the corrupt and servile assembly at Glasgow. “ The bishops (says Hume) fret because they have failed in procuring for his Majesty as large a subsidy as they had promised him. Their employment now is, not to preach Christ but the King. On the Sabbath before the meeting of Parliament the bishops of Galloway and Brechin told the people, that the King had a right not only to their property but also to their lives, and that they should grudge no sacrifice for one who was the defender of their faith, a confessor and a semi-martyr. Brechin, moreover, exhorted the women to avoid extravagance in their dress and the men in the use of wine, that they might have it in their power to give more to the King. Such is the doctrine of our episcopal church. We are to abstain from vice not as vice, but in order to fill the royal coffers ! †”

* On the 18th of February 1613, a funeral oration on Prince Henry by our countryman Principal Donaldson, was pronounced in the hall of the College of Sedan before a great assembly. (Lacrymæ Tumulo nvnquam satis Lavdati Herois Henrisci Friderici Stvarti—a Gualtero Donaldsono Scoto Britanno—Sedani 1613. 8vo.)

† Melvini Epist. pp. 312, 317—320. comp. Lord Hailes, Memor. of Britain, vol. i, pp. 40—48.

The reader may wish information respecting Melville's companions in exile, the six ministers who were banished for holding the Assembly at Aberdeen. Strachan sickened and died at Middleburg soon after he landed on the continent *. Welsh, after remaining for some time at Bourdeaux, became minister of Jonsack in the province of Angoumois; Duncan was received into the College of Rochelle; Sharp was made professor of Divinity in the University of Die †. Forbes and Durie settled in Holland: the former was preacher to the English merchants at Middleburg, from which he removed to Delft: the latter obtained a Scotch congregation in Leyden ‡. Melville kept up a close correspondence with the two last; and, in the course of the year 1612, was gratified with a visit from Forbes, who spent several weeks at Sedan along with his brother Arthur, an officer in the Swedish service §.

In the course of the year 1613 the report reached Melville that his nephew had made his peace with the King, and that Bruce had submitted to the bishops. Strong as his confidence in the integrity and firmness of both these individuals was, he could not help feeling uneasy at this intelligence. "If

* Cald. vii. 78.

† Melvini Epist. p. 161. Wedrow's Life of Robert Boyd, pp. 28, 160, 173.

‡ Melvini Epist. pp. 286, 329. Forbesii Comment. in Apoc. Pref. Interp.

§ Ibid. p. 306. Sir Arthur Forbes of Castle Forbes in Ireland, the 4th son of William Forbes of Corse, was the ancestor of Earl Grannard. (Garden, Vita prefix. Oper. Joannis Forbesii. Lenneden's Genealogie of the Family of Forbes, pp. 21—29.)

Bruce and you are to be restored, (says he in a letter to James Melville) what is to be done with me? What is to be done with my brethren, who, for no crime, were punished with two years imprisonment, and have lived six years in this country as exiles? I know not what persecution is, if this is not.—Give my salutations to Bruce, and tell him that I would rather hear of than see his base servitude *." His apprehensions were removed by letters from his nephew. Some occasion had been given for the report which he had heard. The representations all along made in behalf of the banished ministers by their congregations and friends, were now supported by the Chancellor and several of the nobility, who were disgusted with the pride of the upstart prelates, and desirous of imposing a check on their ambition. The bishops found it necessary to join in these representations, and hoped to turn the measure to their own account, by procuring at least a partial approbation of their authority from some of those who had been its greatest opponents. Proposals were, accordingly, made to all of them, with the exception of Melville. There were not wanting powerful motives to induce them to comply, at the expence of making some sacrifice of principle. They were all advanced in life; they had all families; several of them had lost their health abroad; and all of them felt passionately attached to their native country. The commutation of capital punishment into exile is regarded as an act of clemency;

* Melvini Epist. pp. 308—9.

and if obliged to choose banishment or death there is probably none who would not prefer the former. But on the other hand many who would willingly have laid their necks on the block rather than comply with what they deemed sinful, have had their resolution subdued by the mitigated but slow and exhausting pains of imprisonment or exile. In the present instance, however, all the ministers rejected the terms offered them.

The sentiments by which they were actuated in coming to this resolution are forcibly expressed by Forbes in a letter to James Melville. "I always expected (says he) some proposal of this kind, and indeed I wonder that the bishops have deferred making it so long after the establishment of their tyranny. The only way of accounting for the delay is, by supposing that, like all who are conscious of being embarked in a bad course, they can never think themselves sufficiently secured against danger. How wretched the condition of these men, who, harassed by continual fear and anxiety, can neither do well without us, nor yet enjoy our company with safety! What wise man would court those honours, which, always unsatisfactory, always unstable, instead of conferring solid peace on the possessor, torment him with incessant apprehensions! Shall we then confirm what they feel to be so vain, with a single word or the slightest mark of our approbation? God forbid that a cause which is destitute of intrinsic strength, and the innate excellence of virtue, should receive from us a prop to its weakness or a covering

to its turpitude! Suffer the self-convicted rogues to walk on their own feet, and we shall soon see them fall by their own act. Let us not fear their wiles, but turn our eyes to Him, who, sitting above, governs all things and over-rules them to the good of those who love him. He that shall come will come without delay, and will cleanse his floor, and consume the chaff and rubbish with the fire of his wrath. Let us reserve ourselves for better times, and he who is at once our guide, our way, and the beginning and end of our course, will bring all things to a happy termination. I have been grieved, but not in the least staggered at the weakness of A. D. *, who has 'suffered so many things in vain.' He will not add to the strength of those to whom he has gone over, nor will he weaken us whom he has deserted. The crown which he has taken from his own head he has placed on ours. I am not moved by the foolish judgement of vain courtiers, nor by the empty triumphs of the bishops: such winds cannot shake the foundation on which we rest. If they appear for a time to be victorious, they shall feel at last that those who vanquish in a bad cause, vanquish to their ruin. At the same time we ought not rashly to contemn the peace

* Andrew Duncan, who had been lately allowed to return from banishment in consequence of his making some acknowledgements to the King respecting Aberdeen Assembly. (Cald. vii. 500—503.) He was afterwards prosecuted before the High Commission and imprisoned for non-conformity to the Articles of Perth. (Wodrow's Life of Andrew Duncan, pp. 4—11. Printed Cald. pp. 730, 764.)

and liberty offered us in the name of the prince. But if, under the external mask of liberty, they seek to draw us into a slavery worse not only than imprisonment and exile, but than the loss of life itself, we are not to purchase the liberty of our bodies by inthralling our souls. I had rather remain the captive of a legitimate sovereign than become the servant of illegitimate lords. I esteem it more honourable to carry the chains of a lawful king than to wear the insignia of usurping prelates. In the former case I am a witness with Christ in the hope of his glory : in the latter, perjured and an associate with wicked men; I would be found attempting to rebuild the city which had been thrown down and laid under a curse, would share of her plagues, and be involved in her ruin; Pardon my boldness. It would have become a son to be more modest in writing to a father,.. But grief and indignation at the present deplorable state of affairs, and at the hard condition of good men who cannot obtain corporal liberty without submitting to spiritual bondage, have unconsciously drawn these reflections from my pen.*"

Melville must have been gratified with the spirit which breathed in this letter. He could not despair of the liberties of his country as long as they had such friends as Forbes. Under the mortifications which he felt at the ingratitude of the public, and the defection of the greater part of those

* Melvini Epist. pp. 326—329.

who had received their education under him, he could not say that he "spent his strength for nought and in vain," when he had been the means of training up a few individuals of such rare virtue and constancy. The next letter which he wrote to his nephew shews how much the late intelligence from Scotland had cheered him. "I cannot but hope for all that is good from Bruce. The court-rumours are vain and calumnious, especially with respect to heroes like him, adorned with every virtue. I am anxious to hear good accounts of Patrick Simson, the faithful bishop of Stirling, and a few others of the same stamp with him. Godscroft has written me once and again, ardently, vehemently. I love the sincere zeal and undaunted spirit of that excellent man and most upright friend. Would to God that the equestrian, not to say the ecclesiastical, order could boast of many Godscrofts"! Our friend Wellwood has also written me; but at present it is not in my power, nor do I reckon it safe, to reply to them according to their desire. You know my disposition long ago. I am unwilling, for the mere purpose of making a shew of good-will, to gratify my friends in a thing which may involve them in trouble, even although they request

* This refers to the letters which David Hume of Godscroft had written to bishops Law and Cowper in defence of Presbytery. Wodrow has collected a number of them in his Life of Hume, pp. 18—40, and in his Appendix to the Life of Cowper. "I wish they were printed (says James Melville), one would scarcely desire to see any thing better on the subject." (Melville Epist. p. 194.)

it of me. The Lord, on whom, and not on the pleasures or wishes of men, I depend wholly, has his own times. I keep all my friends in my eye: I carry them in my bosom: I commend them to the God of mercy in my daily prayers. What comes to my hand I do: I fill up my station to the best of my ability: My conversation is in heaven: I neither importune nor deprecate the day of my death: I maintain my post: I aspire after things divine: about those which are human I give myself little trouble. In fine, I live to God and the Church: I do not sink under adversity: I reserve myself for better days: My mind is prepared by the grace of God, and strong in the Lord, for whose sake I am not afraid to meet death in that new and living way which he hath consecrated, and which leads to heaven alike from every quarter of the globe *."

A letter from Sir James Fullerton, which he received in the month of April 1614, gave a shock to his feelings which it required all his fortitude to bear. His dearest friend and most affectionate and dutiful nephew, James Melville, was no more. His health had for some time been in a state of decline, which was accelerated by grief at the issue of public affairs in Scotland, which his extreme sensibility disposed him to brood over with a too intense and exclusive interest. In consequence of the importunity of his friends and an apparently earnest invitation from archbishop Gladstones, he set out for Edin-

* Melvini Epist. p. 325.

burgh, in the beginning of the year 1614, to arrange matters for his return to Kilrinny, or, if this was found impracticable, to make permanent provision for that parish. But he had not gone far when he was taken so ill as to be unable to proceed on the journey, and with difficulty returned to Berwick. The medicines applied could not impede the progress of the distemper, which soon exhibited alarming symptoms. He received the intimation of this with the most perfect composure, and told his friends that he was not only resigned to the will of God, but satisfied that he could not die at a more proper season. On Wednesday the 19th of January, he "set his house in order;" and all his children being present, except his son Andrew, (who was prosecuting his theological studies at Sedan) he gave them his dying charge and parental blessing. His brother-in-law, Joshua Durie, minister of St Andrews, and Hume of Ayton, a gentleman who had shewn him great kindness during his residence at Berwick, waited by his bed-side. He was much employed in prayer. When he mentioned the Church of Scotland, he prayed for repentance and forgiveness to those who had caused a schism in it by overturning its reformed discipline. And, addressing those around him, he said: "In my life I ever detested and resisted the hierarchy as a thing unlawful and antichristian, for which I am an exile, and I take you all to witness that I die in the same judgment." He made particular mention of his uncle at Sedan; gave him a high commendation for learning, but still more

for courage and constancy in the cause of Christ; and prayed that God would continue and increase the gifts bestowed on him. In the midst of the acute bodily pain which he endured during that night and the succeeding morning, he expressed his resignation and confidence chiefly in the language of Scripture, and often repeated favourite sentences from the Psalms in Hebrew. Being reminded of the rapture of the apostle Paul, he said: "Every one is not a Paul; yet I have a desire to depart and be with Christ, and I am assured that I shall enter into glory."—"Do you not wish to be restored to health?" said one of the attendants. "No; not for twenty worlds." Perceiving nature to be nearly exhausted, his friends requested him to give them a token that he departed in peace; upon which he repeated the last words of the martyr Stephen, and breathed gently away*.

He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighth year of his banishment. From the account given of him, and the extracts produced from his letters, in the preceding part of this work, the reader will be able to form a correct idea of his character. The presbyterian ministers of that age were in general characterized by piety, assiduity in the discharge of parochial duties, disinterestedness, public spirit, and the love of freedom. In James Melville these qualities were combined with the amiable dispositions of the man and the courteous manners of the gentleman. "He was one of the wisest

* Cald. MS. vii. 505—518.

directors of church-affairs in his time," says Calderwood. " For that cause he was ever employed by the General Assemblies and other public meetings; and acted his part so gravely, so wisely, and so calmly, that the adversaries could get no advantage." Though gentle and not easily provoked, he possessed great sensibility; could vindicate himself with spirit; and testified an honest indignation at whatever was base and unprincipled, especially in the conduct of men of his own profession. He felt a high veneration for the talents and character of his uncle; but he was a confidential friend and able coadjutor, not a humble dependent or sycophantic admirer; and his conduct during the last years of his life, when he was thrown on the resources of his own mind, served to display the soundness of his judgment, and to unfold the energy of his character*. Besides what he had published at an early period of his life, he prepared, a short time before his death, several treatises for the press. His *Supplication to the King*, in the name of the Church of Scotland, a work on which he bestowed great pains, is composed in an elegant and impressive style. Possessing less fancy than feeling, his poems, which are all written in the Scottish dialect, do not rise above mediocrity; but from this censure, some parts of his *Lamenta-*

* When some urged that James Melville might be allowed to return home, although it was dangerous to set his uncle at liberty, archbishop Spotswood is said to have replied: " Mr Andrew is but a blast, but Mr James is a crafty byding man, and more to be feared than his uncle." (Wodrow's *Life of James Melville*, p. 146.)

tion over the overthrow of the Church of Scotland deserve to be exempted *.

The distress which Melville felt, at receiving the tidings of his nephew's death, was calm and silent, because it was deep. It is expressed with a tender simplicity in the epitaph which he wrote for him †. In a letter to his friend Durie at Leyden, he says : " The Lord hath taken to himself the faithful brother, my dearly beloved son, Mr James Melville, in January ; as I am informed by Mr James Fullerton. I fear melancholy to have abridged his days. He was in great perplexity and doubt what to do, as ye know and as Mr Bamford wrote me ; and I answered by these letters which I sent to you. I cannot tell if they be yet beside you ; but I persuade myself he has never seen them. He was resolved to accept no restitution without you and Mr Forbes. Now he is out of all doubt and fashrie ‡, enjoying the fruits of his suffering here : God forgive the instruments of his withholding from his flock. I cannot write more at this time. If ye have received the particulars of his sickness and his death, I pray you let me know the circumstances at large §."

Besides the civilities which he shewed to all the

* See Note O.

† This epitaph is printed at the end of the *Libellus Supplex* of James Melville.

‡ Trouble.

§ Letters from Melville to Robert Durie, no. 5. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 42.)

students, Melville paid particular attention to such of his countrymen as came to the university of Sedan. Among these were John Durie, afterwards well-known for the persevering exertions which he made to accomplish a union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches *, and the learned Dr John Forbes, son to the bishop of Aberdeen †. Dr Arthur Jonston, the poet, also spent a considerable part of his early life in the University of Sedan. His juvenile effusions prove that he lived on a footing of intimacy with the venerable colleague of his deceased uncle, who, on his part, could not fail to be pleased with a young man whose literary taste was so congenial to his own, and who had already given flattering presages of those talents which entitle him to rank, as a sacred poet, next to his master Buchanan ‡.—During his residence at Sedan, Melville kept up a correspondence with different literary characters on the continent, of whom Heinsius, Gomarus, and Du Plessis were the principal §.

* He was the Son of Robert Durie at Leyden. (Melville's Letters to Durie, no. 4. *ubi supra.*)

† See the Preface and Letters prefixed to his Latin translation of his father's Commentary on the Revelation, Amst. 1646.

‡ *Vita Arct. Jonstoni*, in *Poet. Scot. Mus. Sac.* pp xxxi, xxxv. In the works of Jonston, besides an encomiastic poem on Melville, there are *Lusus Amabri*, being a poetical correspondence supposed to have passed between the author and Tilenus and Melville, at Sedan. Tilenus is rallied on the long delayed birth of a daughter, and Melville on his being childless and an old bachelor. (*Arturi Jonstoni Poemata*, pp. 371, 387—397. Middelb. 1642.)

§ Letters to Robert Durie, *passim*. Wedrow's *Life of Boyd*, p. 53, 58.

In addition to his ordinary academical employment, Melville was involved at this time in a controversy which was peculiarly delicate from the connection in which he was placed with the individual who was his principal opponent. At his first coming to Sedan he found several of the students infected with Arminianism *. His colleague Tilenus, after publishing against this system of faith, became a convert to it †. But instead of avowing the change, he exerted himself covertly, and contrary to his subscription and the trust reposed in him, in instilling his new opinions into the minds of the students ‡. Melville had from the beginning refuted them in his lectures ; and he concurred with others in exposing an insidious scheme for perverting the sentiments of the young men under his charge, and ruining the university. In consequence of this Tilenus left Sedan, and became an open and virulent adversary of Calvinism §.

Spotswood betrays his ignorance as much as his spleen in the short account which he gives of Melville after he was released from the Tower. "He was sent to Sedan (says he) where he lived in no great respect, and contracting the gout lay almost bedfast to his death ||." Considering his advanced

* Melville's Letters to Robert Durie, no. 1. *ubi supra*.

† Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica, tom. ii. pp. 544. 558.

‡ Letter from Rivet to Boyd of Trochrig, Dec. 5. 1617 : in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 194.

§ Scoti & reges Paraclesis, pp. 34—5. Epistola Eccles. et Theolog. pp. 17, 616, 619, 770. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iv, p. 606.

|| Hist. p. 500.

age when he was banished to France, it would not have excited surprize if he had spent the remainder of his days in inactivity, or without performing any thing which attracted the public attention. But the facts which we have stated refute the invi-
dious allegation. Nor durst the bishops of Scotland grant permission to this same unrespected and bedfast invalid to return to his native country, al-
though they knew that the act would have gained them the greatest credit. The archbishop ought to have been ashamed to mention his disorder con-
sidering the way in which he first contracted it. He had, indeed, begun to feel the infirmities of old age, but not so as to prevent him from performing his professional duties, to subdue the undaunted spirit of which his adversaries stood so much in awe, or even to mar his wonted cheerfulness *. In a letter written in the year 1612, he says: "Am I not three-score and eight years old; unto the which age none of my fourteen brethren came? And yet, I thank God, I eat, I drink, I sleep as well as I did these thirty years bygone, and better than when I was younger—*in ipso flore adolescentie*. Only the gravel now and then seasons my mirth with some little pain, which I have felt only since the begin-
ning of March the last year, a month before my

* Speaking of Spotswood's behaviour in the General Assem-
bly held in 1617, Simson says: "Necnon furere et debacchari in
Andreathe Melvinum, virum optimum, et sedisianis calumniis ab-
sentem mordere qui presentem nisi tremulus videre vix potuerit."
(Annales, p. 187.)

deliverance from prison. I feel, thank God, no abatement of the alacrity and ardour of my mind for the propagation of the truth. Neither use I spectacles now more than ever: yea, I use none at all nor ever did, and see now the smallest Hebrew without points, and the smallest characters. Why may I not live to see a changement to the better, when the prince shall be informed truly by honest men, or God open his eyes and move his heart to see the pride of stately prelates *?" In a letter written to the same correspondent in the course of the following year, he says: "I thank you, loving brother, for your care of us; but I fear I put you to over great charge in paying for my letters, which I would not do if I were sure that my letters would be delivered in case I would pay for them: such is either the negligence or greediness of this age. I know your loving heart; but it is indiscretion on my part to burden you too much. Take this English word in good part—it fell out of the pen. My heart is a Scotch heart, and as good or better now ever it was, both toward God and man. The Lord only be praised thereof, to whom belongs all glory. Who can tell when out of this confusion it may please him to draw out some good order, to the comfort of his children and relief of his servants? Courage, courage, brother! *Judicabimus angelos; quanto magis mortales!*" And in the year 1616, he writes again to Durie: "Let the bishops be

* Letters to Robert Durie, no. 1. *ubi supra.*

mowdewarps * : we will lay our treasures in heaven, where they be safe. My colic, gravel, and gout be messengers (but not importune) to spoil my patience, but to exercise my faith. My health is better nor I would look for at this age : praised be the true Mediator, to whose glory may it serve and to the benefit of his church †.

After his settlement at Sedan he requested his friends at London to embrace any favourable opportunity that might offer for procuring his restoration. But this he did not so much from any hopes of success which he entertained, as to shew " that he had not thrown off all regard to the church and land of his fathers, and did not contemn the favour of his sovereign ‡." In the year 1616, Forbes went to England, and, after waiting six months, was admitted to kiss his Majesty's hand, and obtained a promise (which was never realized) that he and Durie would be relieved from banishment. In a letter which Melville wrote to Durie he says, after some satirical reflections on the hand which Spotswood had in that affair : " This I write not to hinder you to accept of your liberty obtained already at the king's hands, as I am informed by Mr Forbes's letters. You are wise and resolute in the Lord, whose spirit hath guided you hitherto in your wanderings through the wilderness of this crooked age. I am rejoiced to hear both of your coming home,

* Moles.

† Ibid. no. 3 and 4.

‡ Melvini Epist. p. 292.

and replanting in the ministry at home.—As for me I know their double dealing from the beginning, and how I am both hated and feared by them; and so was my cousin Mr James. The Metropolitan, I ween, was minded to deal for me; but my late-written verses offended both King and bishops. Yet they be general, and such as none but a wan-shapen bishop can be offended with—~~manyer zu dene anden~~. I am not weary of this, *sejour*, grace and hospitality in Sedan *.

He lost this correspondent, who died at Leyden in the course of this year †. Of all his friends, next to his nephew, he felt most attached to Durie, and his letters to him are written in the most confidential strain, mingled with kind-hearted and pleasant familiarity‡. John Forbes survived his fellow exile many years, and died in Holland about the year 1634, after he had been removed from his charge at Delft by the interference of the English government §.

* Letters to Robert Durie, no. 6.

† Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 145.

‡ In one of his letters to him, he says: “ Faill not to send Ar-
mijns against Perkins *De Predestinatione*, whatever it cost, with
the contra-poison, done be Gomarus, *quem singulariter amo*
a *zvrgw*. When our dame bakes you shall have a sconne. Com-
mend me to my good cummer, and to my godson, and the rest of
the bairns—I may see them once er I die, now entering my se-
ventie year.” And in another letter: “ To be short, I have been
these eight days exercised with a rheum, and this day have ta'en
a sirope; so that er it be long I hope to drink to you. My cum-
mer and all the bairns be locked up in my heart.”

§ Preface to his “ Four Sermons on 1 Tim. vi. 13—16. Pub-
lished by S. O. Anno 1635.” Forbes is the author of several
other treatises, and lived greatly respected in Holland.

In the beginning of the year 1619, the town of Sedan was a scene of festivity, in consequence of the marriage of Marie de la Tour, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Bouillon, to the Duke de la Tremouille *. On that occasion Melville resolved not to be behind the most juvenile of his colleagues in testifying his respect for the family of his noble patron ; and he produced an *Epithalamium*. A marriage-song by a Professor of Divinity in the seventy-fourth year of his age may be regarded as a literary curiosity ; and it proves that old age, though it could not fail to have cooled, had not been able to quench his genius. The theme which he chose was not, however, unbecoming his character and years ; and, probably thinking, that, in his circumstances, it was enough to have shewn his good will, he did not finish the poem †.

To the latest period of his life, he appears to have continued alive to the general welfare of the reformed church, and the private welfare of his particular friends. But he felt peculiarly interested in the affairs of the Church of Scotland, which, before his death, was again converted into a scene of contention, in prosecution of the preposterous scheme of bringing it to a complete conformity to the Church of England. When episcopal government was forced on Scotland, if any person had asserted that this was merely a prelude to the obtrusion of the English

* *Memoires de Mornay du Plessis*, tom. iv. pp. 105, 156.

† *Delitiae Poet. Scot.* tom. ii. pp. 66—81.

forms of worship, he would have run the risk of being prosecuted for lese-making. Yet there can be now no doubt that this formed from the beginning an essential part of the plan of the court. The bishops were aware that the nation was averse to it, and afraid that it might excite such discontent as would prove hazardous to their precarious pre-eminence. They accordingly made an attempt to divert his Majesty from pushing the projected change. But a manly opposition to any measure, however impolitic, which was sanctioned by the royal pleasure, was not to be expected from those who had declared themselves the creatures of the court; and after receiving a magisterial reprimand for their ignorant scruples and impertinent interference, they consented to become servile instruments in executing the will of the monarch, and in forcing the obnoxious and hated ceremonies on a reclaiming and insulted nation *. After an ineffectual attempt at St Andrews in 1617, they succeeded in accomplishing their object in a General Assembly held at Perth in the course of the following year. By flatteries, falsehoods, and threatenings, a majority of votes was procured in

* Lord Hailes, *Memor. and Letters*, vol. i. pp. 79—83. The bishops pleaded that his Majesty was determined at all events to impose the ceremonies, and that, if they did not yield, he would overthrow the church. But there is great reason to think that they screened themselves behind the royal authority, or, at any rate, that there was a collusion between the court and the primate. Before the General Assembly had agreed to the innovations, Spotswood writes: “ We are here to communicate, God willing, on Easter-day, when I shall have every thing in that

favour of such of the English rites as it pleased the court at that time to select. *The Five Articles of Perth*, as the acts of this Assembly are usually called, were kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine, the observance of holidays, episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and private communicating. These were ratified by Parliament in the year 1621, and enforced by the High Commission ; but they met with great resistance, and were never universally obeyed*.

It may be proper to advert here to the changes on the University of St Andrews which were completed at this time. Soon after archbishop Gladstones obtained the direction of its affairs, he revived the professorship of canon law, to which he nominated his son-in-law ; “as the ready way to bring out the presbyterian discipline from the hearts of the young ones, and to acquaint even the eldest with

manner performed as your Majesty desires. All of our number are advertised to do the like in their places : and the most I know will observe the samine. Our adversaries will call this a transgression of the received custom ; but I do not yet see that any thing will effect their obedience, save your Majesty’s authority.” (Letter to the King, March 29. 1618. Wodrow, *Life of Spots*. p. 74.

* Printed Cald. pp. 698—715. Spotswood, 537—540. Course of Conformity, pp. 58—103. Scot. *re rxorts*; Paraclesis, pp. 179—181. Perth Assembly, pp. 7—10, 14. Printed anno 1619. The account, given in the last mentioned tract, of the threats employed in the Assembly is not materially contradicted by the episcopal advocate, Bishop Lyndsay, in his True Narrative of Proceedings in the Assembly at Perth, pp. 87—89 ; and it is confirmed by the official account of the King’s Commissioner, in Lord Hailes, *Memor.* i. 87—91.

the ancient church-government whereof they are ignorant *." In commemorating the obligations which the literature of Scotland is under to the archbishop, we must not forget his exertions for the revival of academical degrees in divinity. Upon the expulsion of Melville, he was extremely desirous to have his successor invested with " *Insignia Doctoratus*," and requested his Majesty, in his " incomparable wisdom," to send him " the form and order of making Bachelors and Doctors of Divinity," that he might " create one or two Doctors, to incite others to the same honour and to encourage *our ignorant clergy* to learning;" and that such graduates might, " in presentation to benefices, be preferred to others †." This object was not, however, gained until the year 1616, after the death of Gladstones, when Dr John Young, Dean of Winchester, came to St Andrews with the royal instructions, and presided in the first act. His Majesty directed that those who were found qualified for degrees should " preach a sermon before the Lords at Edinburgh, in a hood agreeing to their degree, that so they might be known" (by the *hood* or by the *sermon*?) " to be men fitte for the prime places of the church ‡." Previous to the in-

* Letter to the King, May 3. 1611. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. 1, 12. no. 17.)

† Letter and Memoires to his Sacred Majesty, Sept. 8. 1607. (MS. *ubi supra*. M. 6. 9. nos. 58, 59.)

‡ His Majesty's Letter and Articles for the University. In the Articles it is appointed that five Holidays shall be annually celebrated in the university with suitable prayers and sermons.

troduction of this important improvement, the Divines who came from England to Scotland for the purpose of forwarding the conformity between the two churches, were exceedingly struck with the literary poverty of the country. Like a celebrated traveller who could not observe a tree above the size of a bush between Berwick and St Andrews, the English Doctors could not hear of above *one* of their own species in the whole kingdom : so that if prompt measures had not been taken to propagate it from England, the race must within a short time have become extinct *. The Presbyterians, indeed, had Doctors, but then they were no more than teachers, and, in their church-calendar were placed below the pastors of parishes. It cannot be denied that their "ignorant clergy" exerted themselves in promoting literature ; but then their exertions were confined to the task of *making* men learned, and they neglected the work of *calling* them so. They prescribed, it is true, an extensive course of theological instruction, and enacted that none should be admitted to the ministry who had not completed this course, and obtained testimonials of his diligence and proficiency from his professors ; but then they were ignorant of the art of creating divines by cer-

* " The name of a School Doctor was grown out of date : only one Graduat (that I did hear of) at St Andrews did outlive that injury of times. Now comes his Majesty (as one born to the honour of learning) and restores the schools to their former glories." (Letter of Dr Joseph Hall to Mr William Struthers : Wodrow's Life of Struthers, p. 9. MSS. vol. 2.)

tain mystic words and rites and symbols. The truth is, that they did not object to academical graduation so far as it was necessary to mark the progress which young men had made in theological learning *. But they did not admit that it belonged to universities to licence persons to teach divinity *ubicunque terrarum*; they were jealous of those titles which, in the English church, were always associated with ideas of ecclesiastical superiority; and they knew that, considered merely as titles of honour, instead of being a reward to merit or an incentive to diligence, they were calculated to tickle the vanity of the weak, to bolster up the pretensions of the arrogant and assuming, and to induce persons to sigh after the name instead of the reality of learning.

Lis est de nomine non re.

An overweening fondness for mere forms is usually destructive of the substance both of learning and religion. The same parliament which ratified the articles of Perth repealed the act of 1579 which reformed the University of St Andrews, and thus threw

* "Audent proceeding be degrees in Schools to the degree of a Doctor of Divinity, it was ordained (by the General Assembly, Anno 1569) that the brethren of Sanct Andrews convene and form such order as they sall think meet, and that they present the same to the next Assembly to be revised and considered, that the Assembly may eik or diminish as they sall think good, and that thereafter the order allowed be established." (Cald. ii. 123) "The appellation of the degries appoyntit be his Mat^{ie} to be heir-ester in the yielie course of theologie wthin the New College to be advySED be the counsell [of the university] and reported to his Mat^{ie} upon the forsaid day." (Visit. of University of St Andrews, anno 1599.)

education back to the state in which it was before the revival of letters. The apology made for this disgraceful act of the legislature was, "that it is equitable that the will of the original founders should take effect so far as is consistent with the religion presently professed." But who does not perceive that the change in respect of religion was a greater deviation from the will of the founders than any change which had been made to accommodate the mode of instruction to the actual state of knowledge and literature? The true reasons for the repeal of the act of 1579 were, on the part of the professors, an aversion to the arduous course of instruction which that act prescribed; and, on the part of the bishops, an antipathy to the men who had proposed it, and an anxiety to remove every monument of the existence and triumph of presbytery. But, eager as they were to accomplish this object, the utility of the New College, as constituted on Melville's favourite plan, was so universally acknowledged, that they durst not touch it; and an express exception, though eversive of the principle of the act, was made in its favour*.

Melville was informed of all these proceedings. Whathis feelings on receiving information of the procedure of the General Assembly at Perth were, we learn from a letter written, at his direction, by one of his students to a friend in Scotland who had lately been at Sedan. He could not have believed that the

* *Act. Parl. Scot.* vol. iv. pp. 682—9.

rulers would push matters to such an extreme. As often as he took up the *Basilicon Doron* (which he frequently did) he could not refrain from tears, when he reflected on the disclosure which it made of the King's designs against the church, and on the crooked policy with which they had been carried into execution. Of late he had rather curbed the zeal of such of his acquaintance as returned from France to Scotland, and whom he knew to be attached to presbyterian principles; but now he judged it necessary to arouse them to a vigorous resistance of the innovations which it was attempted to impose. He felt deeply concerned for them, and expressed an eager desire to receive the earliest intelligence of all their proceedings *.

His desire to assist his brethren at this critical period prompted him to break through a restraint laid on him when he was released from the Tower, and to which he had hitherto submitted. He composed a small treatise, which was published anonymously, consisting of aphorisms on things indifferent in religion, bearing upon the chief argument used by the advocates for conformity to the obtruded ceremonies. Another work commonly ascribed to him is an answer to his late colleague, Tilenus, who, disappointed in his scheme of raising partizans in France, sought to ingratiate himself with King James by

* Letter, John Hume to Mr John Adamson, Sedan, March 9. 1620. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 80.) It appears from this letter that Adamson was employed in making a collection of Melville's poems.

a defence of the late proceedings in Scotland, and by an unprovoked and vituperative attack on the Scottish presbyterians *. The answer to Tilenus is written with great ability, and in a style of nervous reasoning, seasoned with satire, which is, upon the whole, less severe than the rudeness of the attack which it repels would have justified †. But it was not the work of Melville; although it is not unlikely that he furnished materials to his friend, Sir James Sempill, who was the real author ‡.

* "Parænesis ad Scotos, Geneuensis Disciplinæ Zelotas. Autore Jan. Tileno Silesio. Lond. 1620." Cambden says: "Anno 1620. Sept. 5. Tilenus, magnus Theologus, venit in Angliam, & euit librum contra Scotos, zelotas disciplinæ Genevensis." (Annales, p. 61.) He published another work on the same subject, but written with greater moderation: "De Disciplina Ecclesiastica Brevis & Modesta dissertatio, ad Ecclesiam Scoticam. Autore Gallo quodam Theologo, Verbi Divini Ministro. Abredonie, Excudebat Eduardus Rabanus, Impensis Davidis Melvill, 1622."

† "Scoti τε τοξοτες Paraclesis contra Danielis Tileni Silesii Parænesin.—Cujus pars prima est, De Episcopali Ecclesiæ Regimine. Anno 1622." At the close of the work, the author signifies his intention of publishing two other parts, on Elders, and on the Five C-remonies obtruded on the Church of Scotland. But the necessity for these was superseded by the elaborate *Altare Damascenum* of Calderwood, which appeared in the following year.

‡ Melville is repeatedly referred to in the work, and we cannot suppose that he would have spoken of himself, even for the purpose of concealment, in such terms as the following:—"in quibus præcepimus erat *divinus* noster *Melvinus*." (p. 86. conf. pp. 179, 231.) Add to this the testimony of Calderwood, who had the best opportunity of being informed on the subject. "About this time (1620) Tilenus, a Silesian by birth, a professour in Sedan, came to England looking for great preferment and benefit for a

The sources of intelligence have now failed me, and I have it not in my power to communicate any additional information relative to the latter period of Melville's life. In 1620 his health grew worse * ; and it is probable that the distempers with which he had been occasionally visited ever since he was in the Tower, became now more frequent in their attacks, and gradually wasted his constitution. He died at Sedan in the course of the year 1622, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years †. There was at least one of his countrymen then in the university, Alexander Colville, who had been admitted to a share of his friendship, and who, it may be believed, would not fail to pay every attention to his venerable master in his last moments ‡. In conse-

pamphlet, intituled *Parzeness ad Scotos Genevensis disciplinas zelatas*, wherein he defended the state of Bishops and the five articles. The booke was confuted soone after by Sir James Sem-pill of Beltrise, and by the author of the booke intituled *Altare Damascenum.*" (Cald. viii. 962—3.)

* Hume's Letter to Adamson, *ut supra*.

† "Andreas Melvinus, vir maximæ pietatis, singularis zeli (zelus domus Dei comedit eum), omnium linguarum et scientiarum acumine primus, imo solus. Athenas et Solymam in Scotiam induxit; pseudo-episcopatus et papistarum hostis acerrimus; cœlebs, castus; advocatus a Rege, Turri conjicitur: post Dux Bulonie in Galliam ducit, ubi fortissimus obire, jam octogenarius moritur, 1622." (Simsoni Annales: Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville p. 112.)

‡ Hume's Letter, *ut supra*. Petri Molinæi Oratio—habita Sedani 8. Idus Decembres 1628. ante inaugurationem viri decimæ Alexandri Colvini in gradum Doctoratus eiusq; admissionem ad Professionem Theologicam. Sedani 1629. From this Oration (p. 129.) it appears that Colville had been for several

quence of the civil war which raged in France, it was a considerable time before his friends in Scotland were apprized of the fact of his death; and, even then, they were left in ignorance of the circumstances which attended it *.

years Professor of Hebrew before he was admitted to the Theological Chair. In 1642 he was called from Sedan to be Professor of Divinity in the New College of St Andrews. (Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 305. Index to Unprinted Acts of Assembly, 1642.)

* Robert Boyd of Trochrig, at that time Principal of the University of Edinburgh, has the following notice of Melville's death in his *Obituary*. "May the Lord have pity upon us, and preserve in us the work of his own grace, for the good and salvation of our soul, and the destruction of this body of death and sin. As to the death of that venerable father of our church, the ornament of his nation, and great light of this age, in all virtue, learning, vivacity of spirit, promptitude, zeal, holy freedom and boldness and invincible courage in a good cause, with a holy course of life and resolution; who dyed at Sedan last year, 1622, aged about 80 years. He was rejected of his native country, by the malice of the times and men, because he had, with fortitude and firmness, maintained the truth, and given testimony to it before the princes of this world. He had kept a good conscience, without changes, either out of fear, or by the flattery and favour of men, after his imprisonment in the Tower of London, and his living an exile of more than 10 years. As to his death, I say, and the particular circumstances of it, I have not yet received distinct and certain information, because of the trouble and persecutions arisen in the church of France, for some years. May the Lord conduct us by the strait gate to his kingdom of everlasting peace, for the merits of his well beloved son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen." (Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 146.)—Calderwood, in a work which he published in Holland in the year 1623, says: "De Melvino autem affirmare nulla assertatione (nam audio paulo ante fatis cessisse) melius Regi ab infantia voluisse, quam assertatores istos." (Altare Damasc. p. 741.) And in the Preface to that work he says:

It is natural for us to desire minute information respecting the decease of any individual in whose life we have taken a deep interest ; and we cannot help feeling disappointed, when we are barely told that "he died." But laudable as this curiosity may be, and gratifying and useful as it often is to look upon the spiritual portraiture of good men at the hour of their dissolution, we ought not to forget that there is a still more decisive and unequivocal test of character. It was by the faith which he evinced during his life that the first martyr " obtained witness that he was righteous ; and by it he, being dead, yet speaketh." We have no reason to regret being left without any authentic record of the manner in which the apostles finished their course, when we " have fully known their doctrine, manner of life, purpose, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions." I have met with no accounts of the last sickness of Melville ; but at a period when it was not uncommon to circulate false rumours of the death-bed recantations of men who had distinguished themselves in public controversies, it was never whispered that he had retracted his sentiments, or signified the smallest regret for the sufferings which he had endured in behalf of the civil and religious liberties of his country.

If I have succeeded according to my wish, the reader is already acquainted with the individual

" *Andreas Melvinus, qui fere octogenarius diem supremum clausit in exilio, vir undique docens, pius, candidus, et strenuus Christi miles.*"

whose life is recorded in this work, and it is not necessary for me to attempt an elaborate or formal delineation of his character. Nor is it necessary to enter into a refutation of the erroneous opinions concerning it which have been very generally entertained. The facts which have been produced will best serve to correct these, whether they have originated in ignorance or in prejudice. It is not an easy task to form an accurate and impartial estimate of the talent and character of those who have distinguished themselves in great national struggles. If their contemporaries were unduly biased by the strength of their attachments and antipathies, those who live at a later period are disqualified for the task by the distance to which they are removed from those whom they undertake to describe, and by want of sympathy with habits and feelings altogether dissimilar to their own. The narrow views and want of discrimination of their admirers often injure them no less than the hostility and prejudices of their adversaries. In every public contest, our attention is apt to be arrested by those bustling talents which are possessed in common, although in different degrees, by all who take an active part in the scene. Thus, in contemplating a field of battle, officers and men are seen confusedly mingled together, and the issue appears to depend on the exertion of brute force accompanied with insensibility to danger; while the skill, presence of mind, and other military talents, by which the whole mass is put in motion, animated, and go-

verned, are unseen and disregarded. We are still more ready to form an erroneous opinion of the moral qualities and private dispositions of such men ; accustomed as we have been to contemplate them only in the field of controversy, and in the attitude either of eager assault or stubborn defence. More extensive observation and cooler reflection will, however, correct our hasty and premature conclusions. If we follow the warrior into the retreats of peace, and survey him in the social and domestic circle, we may find him displaying all the gentler and more amiable features of human nature ; and in this case, although we may regret that it should ever have been necessary for him to enter upon a scene which called forth feelings of a very different description, yet we will be confident that he was incapable of wanton and unmanly cruelty ; and it will require the strongest evidence to bring us to believe that he was, in any instance, guilty of conduct so much at variance with all that we have known of his habits and dispositions.

Melville possessed great intrepidity, invincible fortitude, and unextinguishable ardour of mind. His spirit was independent, high, fiery, and incapable of being tamed by threats or violence ; but he was at the same time open, candid, generous, affectionate, faithful. The whole tenor of his life shews that his mind was deeply impressed with a sense of religion ; and that he felt passionately attached to civil liberty. The spirit of his piety was strikingly contrasted with that compound of indifference and

selfishness which is so often lauded under the names of moderation and charity. "Thou canst not bear them that are evil, and thou hast tried them that say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars," was the commendation which he coveted and which he merited. Possessing, in a high degree, the *perfervidum ingenium* of his countrymen, sudden and impetuous in his feelings, as well as prompt and vivacious in his conceptions, he poured out a torrent of vigorous, vehement, regardless, resistless indignation, mingled with defiance and scorn, on those who incurred his displeasure. But his anger, even when it rose to its greatest height, was altogether different from the ebullitions of a splenetic, irritable, or rancorous mind. On no occasion was it ever displayed in consequence of any personal injury or provocation which he had received. It was called forth by a strong feeling of the impropriety of the conduct which he resented, and of its tendency to injure those public interests to which he was devoted. And there was always about it an honesty, an elevation, a freedom from personal hate, malice, or revenge, which made it respected even by those who censured its violence, or who smarted under its severity. If his religious and patriotic zeal was sometimes intemperate, it was always disinterested: if, by giving himself up to its influence, he was occasionally carried beyond the bounds of virtuous moderation and prudence, it is also true that he was borne above every sordid and mercenary aim, and escaped from the atmos-

phere of selfishness, in which so many who have set out well in a public career have had their zeal cooled and their progress arrested.

Notwithstanding the heat and vehemence displayed in his public conduct, he was an agreeable companion in private. Provided those who were about him could bear with his "wholesome and friendly anger," and allow him freely to censure what he thought wrong in their conduct, he assumed no arrogant airs of superiority, exacted no humiliating marks of submission, but lived with them as a brother among brethren. His heart was susceptive of all the humane and social affections. Though he spent the greater part of his life in a college, he was no ascetic or morose recluse; and though, "his book was his bride, and his study his bride-chamber *," yet he felt as tender a sympathy with his friends in all their domestic concerns as if he had been himself a husband and a father. The gay, good-humoured, hearty pleasantry which appears in his familiar letters, evinces a cheerfulness and kindness of disposition which continued, to the latest period of his life, unsoured by the harsh treatment which he met with, and uninjured by the fretting infirmities of old age.

His intellectual endowments were confessedly superior. Possessing a vigorous genius and an elegant taste, he excelled all his countrymen of that age in the acquirements of a various and profound erudi-

* An expression applied to archbishop Grindal, who never married.

tion. He sustained a conspicuous part in the important public transactions of his time. But those who have represented him as exercising, or affecting to exercise, the authority of the leader of a party, in the common acceptation of that term, have greatly mistaken his character. He had no pretensions to those talents which peculiarly qualify one for this task. He was a stranger to the smooth arts and insinuating address by which persons whose talents were not of the highest order have often succeeded in managing public bodies. He could not stoop to flatter and fawn upon the multitude, nor was he disposed to make those sacrifices of personal principle or opinion which are necessarily required from every one who sets up for the head of a party. Nevertheless, his reputation for learning and probity, his extensive acquaintance with the subjects in debate, his promptitude of mind, his ready, fervid, and vehement eloquence, and, above all, the heroic courage and firmness which he uniformly displayed in the hour of danger, gave him an ascendancy over the public mind which was in some respects greater than that exerted by any acknowledged leader. In the church courts there were others better qualified for moderating in a debate, for directing the mode of procedure, or conducting a negotiation with the court; but still Melville was regarded by the nation as the master-spirit which animated the whole body, and watched over the rights and liberties of the church. His zeal and fearlessness led him sometimes, in the heat of action, to leave the ranks of

his brethren, and to seize a position which they deemed improper or hazardous ; but still their eye was fixed on him, and they were encouraged by his example to maintain the conflict on lower and less dangerous ground.

I have not met with any description of his external appearance, except that given by his Majesty, who has informed us that he was of low stature *. Nor do I know of any portrait of him. His bodily constitution was sound ; he enjoyed a long course of good health ; his animal spirits were lively ; and he was a stranger to those visitations of morbid sensibility and oppressive languor by which men of talents and studious habits are often tormented.

The greater part of Melville's writings consists of Latin poems †. These display the vigour of his imagination and the elegance of his taste ; and some of them will bear a comparison with the productions of such of his contemporaries as were the greatest masters of that species of writing. But, though his poems were admired at the time when they appeared, it must be confessed that they have not transmitted his reputation to posterity. This is chiefly to be ascribed to the change which has taken place in literary taste, and the disrepute into which such compositions have fallen in later times. It has been also owing in some degree to his not having produced a work of any great extent, a circumstance which has often no small influence on

* See above, p. 54.

† A list of his works will be found in Note P.

public opinion. Had Buchanan not published his *Paraphrase of the Psalms*, the merit of his other poetical pieces would probably have been now known only to a few. Melville found always sufficient active employment to excuse him from the duty of writing for the public. He was not ambitious of literary fame; and was quite superior to mercenary views. Indeed, the art of converting authorship into an engine for making a fortune was not discovered in that age. Another circumstance which has proved injurious to his literary fame is, that a great number of his poems are satires on the hierarchy. This, together with the firm resistance which he made to that form of ecclesiastical polity, excited a strong antipathy against him among the defenders of the English church, who have either disparaged his talents or treated his writings with neglect*. All of them, however, are not chargeable

* See Dr Duport's verses "In Andream Melvinum Scotum, de sua Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria, Saphico versu conscripta;" added to his edition of "Ecclesiastes Salomonis—1662." A striking specimen of the spirit referred to in the text is given by bishop Nicolson. In his account of treatises left by Scotsmen "on the description and antiquities of their country," he says: "I have not seen *And. Melvin's Fragmentum de Origine Gentis Scotorum*. Nor will the character which a modern writer gives of the author tempt any man to enquire after it." (Scottish Hist. Library, p. 15. Lond. 1702. 8vo.) The reader may be curious to see the character which gave the worthy bishop so much satisfaction under his ignorance of a discourse on *Antiquities* (although it was staring him in the face all the time); and as this character is really a curiosity of its kind, I shall subjoin it. "Master Andrew Melvil—was a Man, by Nature, fierce and fiery, confident and peremptory, peevish and ungovernable :

with this injustice. Isaac Walton, though displeased with the freedoms which Melville had taken with his favourite church, does not attempt to deny or conceal his talents. He was, says he, "master of a great wit, a wit full of knots and clenches; a wit sharp and satirical: exceeded, I think, by none of that nation but their Buchanan*." A modern English Divine, who is a much better judge than Walton, speaks of him in the following terms. "The learning and abilities of Mr Melville were equalled only by the purity of his manners and the sanctity of his life. His temper was warm and violent; his carriage and zeal perfectly suited to the times in which he lived. Archbishop Spotswood is uniformly unfriendly to his memory. He seems to have been treated by his adversaries with great asperity."—And, having quoted Duport's poem against him, he continues: "Let it not, however, be inferred from these verses, that Andrew Melville always sought to dip his pen in gall; that he was principally

Education in him, had not sweetened Nature, but Nature had sown Education; and both conspiring together, had trickt him up into a true Original; a piece compounded of pride and petulance, of jeer and jangle, of Satyre and Sarcasm; of venome and vehemence: He hated the Crown as much as the Mitre, the Scepter as much as the Crosier, and could have made as bold with the Purple as with the Rochet: His prime Talent was Lampooning and writing Anti-Tami-Cami-Categorias's. In a word, He was the very Archetypal Bitter Beard of the Party." (Sage's Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, pp. 217—8.)

* This testimony to Melville which appeared in the first edition of the *Life of George Herbert*, was suppressed in subsequent editions. (Zouch's edit. of Walton's Lives, p. 295.)

delighted with the severity of satire and invective. He occasionally diverted his muse to the subject of just panegyric. In many of his epigrams he has celebrated the literary attainments of his contemporaries. He has endeared his name to posterity by his encomium on the profound learning of the two Scaligers, and the classic elegance of Buchanan, his preceptor, and the parent of the Muses. His Latin paraphrase of the Song of Moses is truly excellent—exquisitely beautiful *."

Melville's reputation, however, does not rest on his writings. It is founded on the active services which he performed for his country—on his successful exertions in behalf of its literature, and his activity in rearing and defending that ecclesiastical polity by which it has long been distinguished. There may be some who are disposed to depreciate the last of these services, and to represent him as contending, and exposing himself to sufferings, for disputable and controverted points of small moment, relating to forms of government and plans of discipline. Such language, though often employed by good and well-meaning men, proceeds from very narrow and mistaken views. If applied to civil government, who does not see the sweeping inferences to which it would lead? It would discredit the most meritorious struggles in behalf of liberty and law which mark the most glorious epochs in our history. It would condemn those patriots who nobly bled in

* Dr Zouch, Walton's Lives, pp. 354—5.

defence of this sacred cause on the scaffold or in the field, and represent them as having "died as a fool dieth," if not as rebels and ringleaders of revolt. And it would sink and degrade the free constitution of Britain to a level with the despotical autocracies of Turkey and Spain. Who that has duly reflected on the subject can be ignorant that forms of government exert a mighty influence, both directly and indirectly, on the manners and habits and sentiments of the people who live under them; and that some of these forms are unspeakably preferable to others? That they are better adapted to impose a check on ambitious or corrupt rulers—prevent or correct the abuses of mal-administration—provide for the impartial distribution of justice—preserve the spirit and perpetuate the enjoyment of liberty—promote education, *virtue*, and religion, and, in fine, to secure to the people at large all that happiness which it is the original and proper design of government to procure and bestow? These remarks apply with greater force to ecclesiastical than to political government. The advancement of the interests of religion, the preservation of purity of faith and morals, the regular dispensing of religious instruction and of all divine ordinances, and, in general, the promoting of the spiritual improvement and salvation of the people, have always depended, and must always depend, in a high degree, on the form of government established in a church, and on the rules by which discipline is exercised in it. Perfection is not to be expected in any society on earth, and the best system of laws may be abused, and will

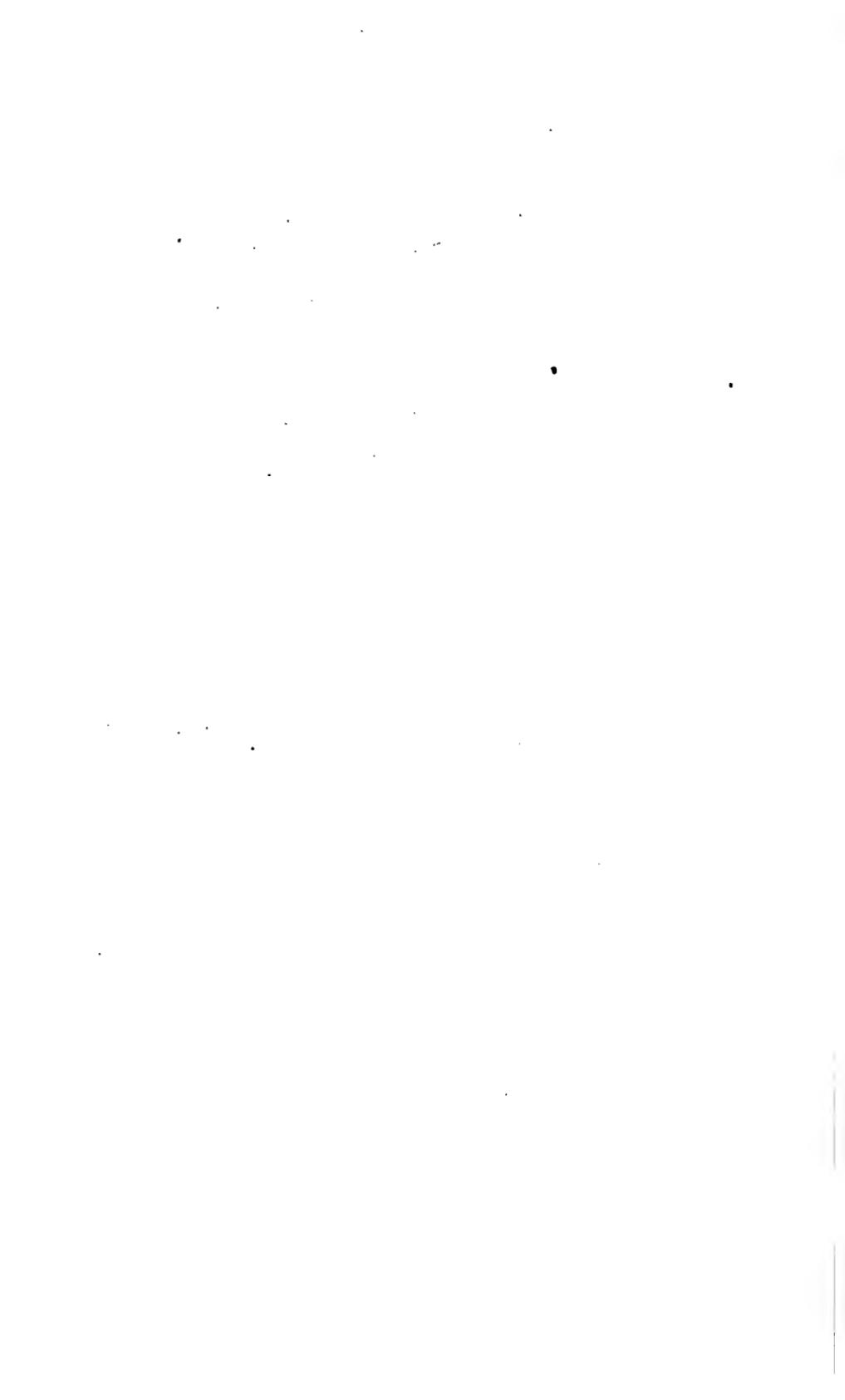
cease to accomplish its ends when the vivific spirit has been suffered to depart; but when these ends are habitually and glaringly counteracted in any church, it will generally be found, on examination, that some check or corrective which Scripture, reason, and the circumstances of the times warranted and pointed out, has been removed or is wanting. The ecclesiastical constitution which Melville had the chief hand in establishing, is eminently calculated to advance these ends. And to it, joined to the spirit which he infused by his example and instructions, Scotland has been indebted for other blessings of a collateral kind, and of the highest importance. To it she owes that system of education which has extended its blessings to the lowest class in the community. To it she owes the intelligence, sobriety, and religious principle which distinguish her commonality from those of other countries. To it she owed a simple, unambitious, laborious, and at the same time independent order of ministers. And to it she was indebted for that public spirit which has resisted manifold disadvantages in her political situation and institutions;—disadvantages, which otherwise must have reduced her to a state of slavery, and made her the instrument of enslaving the nation with which she became allied by the union of the crowns.

It is a great mistake to suppose, and the facts which have been adduced in the preceding narrative refute the supposition, that Melville and his associates were engaged merely in resisting the im-
pa-

sition of certain ecclesiastical forms. The object of the contest was far more extensive and momentous. The efficiency, if not the existence, of that discipline which had long operated as a powerful check on irreligion and vice was at stake. The independence, and consequently the usefulness, of the ministers was struck at. The inferior judicatories might be allowed to meet, but only under a guard of episcopal janizaries. The General Assembly might be occasionally called together, but merely for the purpose of recording royal edicts, and becoming an instrument of greater oppression and tyranny than the court could have exercised without its aid. The immediate object of the King, by the changes which he made in the government of the church, was to constitute himself Dictator in all matters of religion ; and his ultimate object was, by means of the bishops, to overturn the civil liberties of the nation, and to become absolute master of the consciences, properties, and lives of all his subjects in the three kingdoms. It was a contest therefore that involved all that is dear to men and Christians—all that is valuable in liberty and sacred in religion. Melville was the first to discover and to denounce the scheme which was planned for the overthrow of these ; and he persisted in opposing its execution at the expence of deprivation of office, imprisonment, and perpetual proscription from his native country. No sufferings to which he was subjected could bring him to retract the opposition which he had made to it. No offers which he receiv-

ed could induce him to give it the slightest mark of his approbation. By the fortitude, constancy, and cheerfulness with which he bore his exile, he continued to testify against it; and, by animating his brethren who remained at home, he contributed materially to bring about a revolution, which, not long after his death, levelled with the ground that ill-omened fabric, the rearing of which had cost the labour of so many years, and the expence of so much principle and conscience.

I conclude with a single remark, which contains the chief reason that induced me to undertake this work. Next to her Reformer, who, under God, emancipated her from the degrading shackles of papal superstition and tyranny, I know no individual from whom Scotland has received such important services, or to whom she continues to owe so deep a debt of national respect and gratitude, as **ANDREW MELVILLE.**



NOTES

TO

VOLUME SECOND.

Note A. p. 9.

Riot against Melville at St Andrews.—The summons raised at the instance of Mr Andrew Melvill principal of the New College of St Andrews and Mr David Makgill of Nisbet his Majesty's advocate states, “that upon the fourt day of Junij instant, the said Mr andro being vnder medicine w^tin his chalmer of the said college, lippynng for nae violence—Mr David Methven &c. convocat and assemblit togidder be the ringing of the comoun bell the haill ceitie for the maist part of the said citie bodin in feir of weir with quhom they come to the said college and in maist barbarous and insolent maner brak up the back and foir yettis y^r of clam the wallis of the same and preisit violentlie to haue brokin up the said Mr androis chalmer dur lyke as thay brak up w^t ane lang Jeist the bak stair of his said chalmer vpoun set purpos and deliberatioun to have slayne and murdriest him within his said chalmer quhilk thay had not faillit to have done were not be the providence of God and the mediatioun and travellis of the magratis of the said citie thair rage and fury wes sum quhat mitigat lyk as thay in deid remanit w^tin the said college and about the same the space of tua houris togidder suting the said Mr androis lyff uttering all the tymē mony injurious speches saying we have now gottin the occasioun we lang socht let us tak it and mak us qwyte of this man that troublis ws ay”—The Lords ordyn mayster William Russel and William Leirmont two of the Bailies of St Andrews to enter into ward in the Castle of Blacknes and remain there until they give up the names of the chief persons concern-

ed in the riot,—and ordain the provost and members of Town Council to subscribe a Band obliging themselves and their Successors to preserve all the members of the universitie “harmelles and skay'les.”—And they further decern that such of the rioters as had been summoned and have not appeared, shall be denounced rebels. (Record of Privy Council, 23 Junij 1591.)

The following extract from the Record of the Burgh Court of St Andrews relates to the circumstance mentioned in the text as having given occasion to the riot. The act is crossed in the Record, and on the margin is the following official note: “ Die vigesimo quarto mensis Augusti 1591. This Act deleit w^t consent of y^e prowest baillies and counsell. J Bonde Scriba.” The Act runs thus :

“ Mr Andro Malwill & ye Town

Curia Burgalis civ. S^t Andreæ tenta in prætorio ejusdem per honorabiles viros Thomam Lentroun Magistros Gulielmum Cok et Gulielmum Russell ballivos dictæ civitatis, die Veneris quarto die Mensis Junii Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo primo.

The qlk day in presence of the baillies of yis citie Mr Robert Weikye principal of St Leonardis College w^tin ye citie of St And^s renunciand expreslie be y^t presentis all previleges exemption and immunitie or jurisdiction that he may pretend in ye contrair heirof And submitting him in this caice to ye jurisdiction of the prowest and baillies of ye citie of St And^s alenerlie and w^t him David Dalgleisch and W^m Muffat citineris of ye said citie Ar becum bound oblist and actitat for thaim yr airis & successoris conjunctlie and severallie for Maister Andro Mailweill rector of ye Universitie of St And^s That in caice it may be fund and tryed y^t Maister Johne Cauldcleuch ane of ye prencipall Maisteris of ye New College quha hes schott and deidlie woundit Davit Trumbull ane nybour of yis citie w^t ane arrow qrbye he is in danger of his lyfe to be anye tyme heirefter w^tin ye boundis of ye said College in anye pairt they sall present him to ye justice for underlying of our Soverane lordis lawis he being requyrit be ye pte stewart or ye baillies of ye said citie my lord being w^tin ye college for ye tyme of his requisition And w^tin ye boundis of ye said College

for ye fact foirsaid under ye paines of ane thousand ponds to be applyit to sic uss as ye provest balleis & counsaill of ye said citie shall think expedient And y^t ye said Mr Andro rector foir-said renunciand in lyk maner be yr gntes expresslie all privilege exemption & immunitie y^t he may pretend in ye contrair in yis caice allenerlie shall be answerable to ye Stewart of regalitie of St Andr^s ye provost and baillies yrof as law will in caice he shall be querrellit heirefter be anie of ye said David Trumbullis friendis under paine foirsaid In presence of Mr Piter Rollock Bischope of Dunkell Mr Wm Mairch ane of ye regentis in St Leonardis College David Watsoun Mr David Russell deane of gild And Mr Patrick Mailuill ane of ye M^{rs} of ye new Col. and Jhon Mair w^t uyris diverss."

Note B. p. 14.

Constitution and procedure of Kirk-sessions.—In speaking of the election of Elders and Deacons, we ought to keep in mind that formerly it was annual. At St Andrews, when the time of election approached, the session made up a list of persons to be nominated for office during the ensuing year, and caused this to be read from the pulpit, accompanied with an intimation that the session would meet on a certain day to hear objections against the persons nominated, and to receive the names of any others that might be proposed as better qualified. The election succeeded to this. The Session sometimes appointed electors, and at other times they acted as electors themselves; in which last case the individuals to be chosen, if already in the session, were successively removed. (Record of Kirk Session of St Andrews, Oct. 8. & 15. 1589; Jan. 12. 1590; and Nov. 28. 1593.) This was the practice at Glasgow. (Extracts from Rec. of Kirk Sess. of Glasgow: in Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p 28.) “Oct. 22. 1609. The Bishop compeared and intimat, the Synod had for sundry and good respects concluded and ordained that the Elders and Deacons in all Sessions shall hereafter be chosen by the ministers. The Session approves.” (Ibid. p. 29.) At Edinburgh the election was popular. (Knox, Hist. of the Reformation, pp. 267—8.)

The General Assembly, April 1582, sanctioned this mode of election. "Concerning a generall ordeour of the admission to ye office of elders referris it to the ardo^r usit at Ed^r qlk we approve." (Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 124. b.) In the parish of the Canongate, or Holyrudhouse, the members of Session were chosen by the communicants at large. "Juley 28. 1565. The qlk day ye names of ye faithful yt be in the lyt of ye Eldars was geiven wp be ye auld kirk to be proclamit be ye minister and to be chosen on Sonday come aucht dayes." ---"The fourt day of August. The qlk day the esternone at ye seruone ye haill fay^rfull wated in cheasing ye ellars and diacons. ---The 11th day of Aug^t. The qlk day it is ordanit y^r ye eldaris and deaconis as efter followis present yameself to ye kirk and set in ye place appontit for yame to resawe yair office. The qlk day it is ordanit yt ye minister warn oppenlie in ye pulpell all thois yt communicates to ye puires to come to ye tobo^r on tisday y^r nixt comes at 7 ho^rs in ye morning to heir ye compts of ye deacons of yair resait and how it is destrybutit." (The Buik of the Kirk of Canagait.)

The statement made in the text respecting the civil punishments inflicted on delinquents is justified by the minutes of the last named Session. An unmarried woman having confessed her pregnancy, " Thairfor the baillies assistane the assembly of ye kirke ordanis hir for to depart furt of ye gait within 48 hours heirefster, under ye pain of schurging and burning of ye scheike." (Buik of the Kirk of Canagait, Sept. 31. 1564.) In all instances in which any civil penalty is added this form of expression is used.---The following minute refers to the determining of controversies by *arbitration*. " Dec. 8. 1565. The qlk day it is ordanit the communion to be ministrat upon the 16th of y^r instant also to advertise the communicants to be at the Saterday exortation efter-nune. The qlk day it is ordanit that gif thair be onie personnes have onye gruge of hatrit or malice or ony offense in his heart aganis his broder that they and ilk ane of them come on tisday in the morning at 8 ho^rs to the Tolbo^r where 4 of the Kirk shall be present to juge the offense and gif that it stands in them to reconcil .

the same ye said four to be Johne hart Johne short Jhone Mordo Johne Atchison Thomas hunter James Wilkie or ony four of thir." (Ibid. Dec. 8. 1565.) At Glasgow, the Session was accustomed to proceed in certain cases by way of *inquest* or *trial by jury*. " Nov. 14. 1583. the Session appoint an inquest to be taken of men who are neither Elders nor Deacons for this year, out of the several parts of the town." This was done generally every year, and the practice is mentioned in the minutes as late as 1648. The inquest is ordinarily made up of 13 honest men, and in some cases women are employed. (Extracts ut supra : pp. 42—3.)

The following minute may be given as an illustration of the method of *censuring* the members of Session. " The qlk day being appointit to try ye lyfe and conversation of ye haill memberis of ye Sessioun, alsweill ministeris as elderis & deaconis, Mr David Blak minister being remouit, there is nathing objectit aganis him, bot all ye brethren praises God of him, and yt he may continew in his seit. M Robert Wallace being remouit, ye brethren thankis God for him, bot it is desyrit of him yt he may be mair diligent & carefull over ye maneris of ye people, & in visiting of ye seik. M Rob^c Zwill being remouit yair is nathing opponit aganis him in lyfe doctrein nor conversation, bot he is to be admonisit of multiplicatione of wordis in his doctrine and yt his nottis be in few wordis y^c ye people may be mair edifyt. Mr Androw Meluill being remouit y^c is nathing opponit aganis him, bot ye haill brethren thankis God for him. M^r Dauid Monypenny being remouit yr is nathing epponit aganis him. M. W^m Welwod being remouit yair is nathing aganis him, ye Commis^r remouit nathing opponit. Dauid Murray & Duncan Balfour yr is nathing opponit except Dauid Murray payis na thing to ye contributionis of ye puir. And as to Duncan Balfour falt is fund wt him yt he being ane elder suld be in company wt yame yt brak vpe ye tolbuth dur & electit ye counsell tyme of sermone vpon Weddinsday. forder ye murthir of Pareis being laid to his charge becaus he wes in companie in ye kingis seruice at yt tyme. Quharof ye said Duncane purges him selfe in conscience as

also of cuming w^t ye kingis commissioun to stay ye doctrein in ye new college. M^{rs} W^m Henry Russell Andro Welwood being remouit, yr is falt fund with Mr W^m bein (sic) suld pas to ye synodall assemblie w^tout command of ye sessioun, and yt y^r is ane sklander betwix Mr Henry and his father, and yt Andrew Welwod mend his rasche speiking in ye sessioun. Mr W^m Russel purgit him of ye thing laid to his charge; Androw Welwod promisit to amend, &c." (Record of Kirk Session of St Andrews, March 2. 1596.)

Note C. pp. 16, 17.

Presbyterian exercises, and trial of ministers.—The following extracts illustrate the mode of procedure in the ordinary exercise. "It is ordanit that Mr. Ro^c Rollock sall mak ane catalogue of the young men quhom he thinks meitt to exercis, and that they quha sall come to the p^{bric} be sittaris, and no^c standeris. Ordanis that all the brethren of the ministerie w^t in this presbyterie sall convene in dew tyme, and sit at the burdes vnder the pains containit in y^c actis of y^c p^{bric}, and that nane be absent w^tout ane law full excus, and that y^c catalog be red, the absents markit, and the neist day censurit. Ordanis the first speikar sall occupy na langer tyme nor an ho^r, the second half an hour preciselie vnder the panes to be censured gif he transgress, and that the prayer before and efter the exercis be schort." (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 8. 1597.) "Oct. 27. 1598. Maister Dauid Robertson maid ye exercise upone ye first cap. Essay v. 3. and vas allowit and Mr. eter Blackburn addit, quha followis nixt;" i. e. makes the exercise next week. (Record of Presbytery of Aberdeen.) "April 23. 1602. Johne Mylne made the exercise—admonisit to studie diligentlie and to have a feling of yat qlk he delyverit.—" Nov. 26. 1602. Robert Forbes maid the exercise, quha was admonisit to eschew affectat language, and to utter his words w^t gretar force." (Ibid.) "Dec. 8. 1619. Prophesie maid be Mr. Rob^c Backanq^{ll}. 1 Cor. 14. v. 8. Followed Mr. George Greir in observations upon the text exponed. Doctrein judged, it was ordeined Mr.

Andro Blackhall to expone in the first place, and Mr. Thomas Ballantyne to observe in the second place. 1 Cor. 14. v. 10." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.) "Dec. 4. 1593. Mr. Andro Polwart (and six other young men) put on the privie exercise." (Rec. of Presb. of Glasgow.) "Junij 18. 1600. A remembrance concerning the brethren that teiches in privat hous. Mr. Alex^r greg heard this day in the gallery.—April 29. 1601. He is to be heard in Mr James Carmichael's gallery." (Presb. of Haddington.) "May 8. 1608. Mr. James Carmichel, younger heard privile exerces ye secund tyme upone Ephes. 6. 12. The Bre^a praysit God for him, and appoyntit him to exerceis privilie the next in ye morninge in ye galrie, prosecuting the samine text." (Ibid.) The General Assembly, in March 1572-3, agreed, "That sick ministers as hes not q^rweth to buy booke may have booke bought to y^m be ye collector, and to allow ye pryces y^r of in y^r stipend." (Buik or Univ. Kirk. p. 56) "Oct. 20. 1598. It is agreit be ye haile presbitrie yair be a collection gatherit amongis y^c brethrein and of y^c penaleteis to by comentareis vpon y^c text of ye exerceis quhilk soll serue to everie ane of y^c presbyterie quha hes nane in tym cumig.—Feb. 23. 1598. Item the said day the Moderator collected fra every minister of the presbyterie sex shillings aucht pennies for the bying of Molerus vpone Isay, and delyuerit the same to John roche collector to gif y^c buikar." (Rec. of Presb. of Aberdeen.)

In October 1581, the Provincial Synod of Lothian represented that they had agreed to have disputations in every presbytery on the articles in controversy with the papists, and moved that the General Assembly should appoint the form to be observed. The Assembly "thinks thir disputations good q^a thay may be had." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 115, 116.) In March 1597-8, it is appointed, "that a common heid of religioun be intreatit every moneth in ilk p^{br}ie both by way of discourse and disputation." (Ibid f. 191, b.) The way in which this exercise was conducted will appear from the following minutes. "Aprilis 7 1602. The q^{lk} day y^c common heid, De Authenticis Scripturarum editionibus et Versionibus Sacrisq. Vernaculis,

being first handillit publiclie before y^c pepil be Mr. John Gibson, they disputit priuelie. It was fund Quod sola hebraica editio Veteris Testamenti et Graeca noui sit authentica editio Scripturæ et q^d necessariū sit scripturas converti oñiaq. sacra peragi publice corā populo in ecclesia vernaculo sermone. The next cōmoun heid De Authoritate Scripturæ was appointit to James Lamb to be entreatit y^c secund Wednesday of May approaching." "Junij 2. The controvertit heid De Authoritate S. Scripturæ being first publicly entreated before y^c pepill be James lamb his text being upon y^c 2 epistill to Timothe 3 cap. 16 vers. Q¹t^h being censurit—The Brethren per vices ererie ane enterit in thair disputation in Latine anent y^c same mater according to y^c ordinance of provincial assemblie." (Record of Presb. of Haddington.) The member who delivered the discourse on the common head sustained his thesis in the dispute against the other members of presbytery. (Ibid. July 4. 1602, and March 2. 1603.) "Jan. 6. 1603. The quhilk daye M^c Peter blackburne intreatit vpone the cōmoun heid of cōtroversie De Ecclesia q^rin he did mervelous and y^r foir wes cōendit." (Rec. of Presb. of Aberdeen.)

The General Assembly which began on the 31st of March 1589, appointed all the ministers of the church to be tried *de novo*, and nominated certain individuals as assistants to each presbytery in this work. (Act inserted in the Minutes of Presb. of Haddington, Nov. 5. 1589.) In consequence of this a rigid examination commenced, of which the following extracts will convey some idea. "Tryall be passages of Scripture and questions.—*Mr. Thomas Macghie.* His passage of Scripture 46 Isai vnto y^c 5 verse, exponit and collectit the same and y^rester removit. The Brethren censurit. he is jugeit to be weill verst w^t the Scriptures. Being examined vpon y^c authoritie of the Scriptures he is tho^c prompt to confound the enemies of the trewth w^t the word of God and guid [doctrine]—28 Julij at Morning. *James Gibsone.* Haiffing teicheit publiklie at his appointit hour being [removed] he was judgeit to haue done weill. Zit he omittit what he promesit to defyne As also he repeated sundrie impertinent

[words] bayth in doctrine & prayer Q^rsoir he is admonisit to be[ware of them.]—*Thomas Greg.* 28 Julij at eftirnown. His passage of Scripture 3 to the Galathisms vnto the 4 verse expounding ye samin was removit. He is jugeit to have done weill and it appeiris he is versed with y^c Scripturis Being examinat as followin, It is not ane fait to Godis pepill to embrace the thingis that God commandis Ergo it is not ane fait to the Christians to keip the Ceremoniall law: 2. Quhidder gif the pepill war justifeit by the Ceremonies of the Law: 3. Quhidder ar we justifeit be fay^t or be warkis or partie be warkis. 4. We cane not be justifiet be yt alane qlk is never alane bot fay^t is never allane Thairfoir we cane not be justifiet be fay^t allane: Of the qlks he understandis the argumentis & answerit y^r to howbeit he be not verst in logik.—*Jamis Rid.* 22 Octobris. Jamis Rid being hard mak privie exercise the bretheren juges he hes done better nor affeir. Zit he hes not cleirlie exponit the text q^rsoir he is desyrit to be mair popular q^{lk} he promises to do God willing protesting that at his next heiring he may be hard at mair length to the effect he may collect his doctrine mair amplie in the place q^{lk} cane not be done in half ane hour to satisfie for the description of ane ample text.—

The sentences pronouncet.

Mr. Jamis Carmichaell meit to be continewit in the ministrie in a bettir degrie.—*Mr. John Ker* unmeit to be continewit Thairfor deposes [him from the] function of the ministrie Zit the brethern jugeis that [if he be] occupyit wt his book he may do better heirafter.—*Jamis Lamb* meit to be continewit in the ministrie in the lawest missour.—*Daniel Wallace* meit to be continewit in ane law missour.—*Jamis Rid* unmeit to be continewit Thairfoir [deposes him from the] function of the ministrie for the present.—*Thomas Gregge* meit to be continewit in ane gude degrie. *Mr. Thomas Macghie* meit to be continewit in ane bettir degrie.—*Alexander forrester* meit to be continewit in sum reasonable degrie.—*James Gibsone* meit to be continewit in ane reasonable gude missour.” (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.)

Note D. p. 31r

Extraordinary meeting of delegates from counties.—The following curious deed throws light upon the nature and purposes of this meeting.

“ At Glasgow the allevint daye of October ye zeir of God
i^{nv}c fourescoir threttein zeires. The quhilk day the nobill
 men baronis gentlemen ministeris comissioneris of ye aſſedomes
 and burrowis wndervrittin viz Lanerk renfrew and Dumbartane
 and of ye presibitereis yairof being convenit according to ye
 bande maid be our sourane lord & his estatis for mātēmente of
 ye trew religioun pntlie professit w̄tin this realme and defens
 of his hienes persoun and estait and being infornit of ye cōven-
 ing of ye nobillmē barrōnis gētilmē and ministeris of fyfe and
 wtheris partis of yis realme for prosecuting of ye said bande
 And yat. ye sevintein daye of yis instāt is appointtit to ye said
 convening & yat certane comissioneris of everie province salbe
 direct to meit in ye bur^t of Edinburt for cōsulting and avysing
 wpoun ye following fur^t and prosecuting of ye said bande
 Heirfore ye saidis nobillmē barrōnis getellmē & ministeris of
 ye aſſedomes foirsaidis kis maid constitut & ordanit & be yir
 pntes makis constitutes & ordanis the lard of calderwood,
 the lard of merchistoun, the gud man of Duchall, the lard of
 greinoh, M Ro^t Lindsaye M Jon Hewesoun M John Haye
 M John Couper & M Patrik Scherp ministeris or ony thre
 of ye saidis ministeris thair lautfull and wndowtit comissioneris
 to cōvein & meit at Edinbur^t ye daye foirsaid or ony wther
 daye or place appointtit or to be appointtit and yairto cōcurre
 w^t ye comissioneris of ye wther aſſedomes & provinces of this
 realme yair to be assemblit and to give yair advyse and cōsale
 in sik causs cōcerning ye following furt of ye said bande &
 wtheris cōcerning ye glorie of God, the preseruation of his
 maiestie persoun and estait & comounweill of ye cōtrey as sal-
 be treated and as salbe cōcludit to promise in ye names of ye
 nobillmē barrōnis & gētilmē of ye aſſedomes foirsaidis and
 burrowis w̄tin ye sam̄y to follow fur^t the determinatiouns of ye
 comissioneris foirsaidis, qlk yaj and euerie ane of yāe wpoun

yair eōscience & hono^r hes faitfullie promesit to do and pforme. and ye said nobillmē & barronis & gētilmē & ministeris foirsaid hes gevin coīand & power to ye clerk of ye kirk & psbitrie of Glasgw to insert yir pntis in ye buikes of ye buikis of ye said presbitrie and to extract ye samȳ yrfurt subscryvit be him for y as gif yaj had subscryvit ye samȳ yame selfis." (Record of Presbytery of Glasgow.)

Notes E. and F. pp. 73, 75.

Black's process.—“ Anent the charge gevin be vertew of our souerane Lordis Lrēs to Maister dauid blak minister at Sanctandrois to haue compeirit personalie befoir the Kingis maestic and lordis-of secreit counsail this day viz the xviii day of nouember instāt, To haue answrit to sic thingis as sould haue bene inquirit of him at his cwming Tuicheing certane vndecent and vncumelie speiches vtterit be him in diuers his sermonis maid in Sanctandrois, vnder the pain of Rebellioun and putting of him to ye horne w^th certificāne to him and he failzeit Lrēs sould be direct simpl^r to putt him thairto, Lyke as at mair Lentis is cōtenit in ye saidis Lrēs executionis and indorsationis thairof. Qlk being callit, and the said maister dauid compeirand personalie, Declairit that albeit he nicht obiect aganis the summondis as being direct super inquirendis Contrair the act of parliament, na particulair caus specifeit thairin, zit he wald tak him to the ordinair remeid appointit be the Lawis and Libertie of the Kirk, allegeing that nanę sould be iugeis to materis deliuerit in pulpett, bot the preicheouris and ministeris of the worde, And thairfore desirit to be Remittit to his iuge ordinair, Quhairupoun being inquirit be his maistic to quhat iugement he declynit, answrit to the presbiterie quhair the doctrine wes teicheit quhair his maestic sould be a complenair in the first instance as a Christeane and member of the kirk, and not as a King. Allegeit be his Maiestie, That this mater is altogidder ciuile and no^t spirituall, And forder that the generalitie of the summondis is restrictit to this particulair expressit in this vther Lrē heirwith produceit be the inglis ambassadour, Being inquirit, quidder gif his maestic

micht be iuge in materis of tressoun as the kirk is iuge In materis of heresie, Grantis, zit allegeit That the wordis deliverit in pulpett, albeit allegeit to be tressounable, sould be tryit in prima instauncie be the Kirk as onlie iuge competent, To the contrair quhairof The act of parliament maid in the lxxxijij zeir of god wes allegeit, To the dirogatioun of the quhilk act Maister dauid produceit ane vther act in the parliament haldin at edinburgh in the lxxxxij zeir of god, Being inquirit quhat warrand thay had quate of the worde of God, for materis spokin aganis a christeane magrat. Allegeit, quhateuir is spokin to be spirituall, And thairfore mon be realit be the worde of god, and for this purpois allegeit the first of Timothie Continewit to the Last of nouember instant, And M^r dauid ordanit To remane heir in the meantyme." (Record of Privy Council, Nov. 18. 1596.)

The Interloquitor, declaring the Lords of Council judges competent of all the crimes libelled in the new and enlarged summons, was passed on the last day of November. And on the 2d of December, a Decree was passed finding Black guilty of all the articles libelled, and ordaining him to confine himself beyond the North Water till his Majesty should determine on his farther punishment. (Rec. of Privy Council.)

Note G, p. 118.

Ecclesiastical rights of Professors of Divinity.—It was reported to the General Assembly in April 1582, "that an eldership (presbytery) is begun already at St andreis of pastouris and teachers, bot not of those that heis not the care of teaching." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 118, b.) In the General Assembly, May 1586, "It is found that all such as the scripture appoints governors of the Kirk of God, as namelie pastors, doctors, and elders, may convene to generall assemblies, and vote in ecclesiastical matters." (Ibid. f. 139, b.) Being constituent members of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided, doctors or professors of divinity might be sent by them, as well as by their universities, as representatives to the General Assembly. In consequence of a complaint from

the Synod of Fife that this right had been infringed, it was recognized anew by the Assembly which met at Holyrood-house in the year 1602, and at which his Majesty was present. (*Ibid. f. 203, a.*) One reason of Rollock's being admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh, soon after the meeting of the commissioners at St Andrews, might be to exempt him from the restriction intended to be laid on all theological professors. On that occasion Bruce at first objected to receiving imposition of hands, as implying that he had not previously a valid call to the ministry. Patrick Simpson, in a letter dated May 1. 1598, says: "I perceive that Mr Rob. Rollock stands much on the lacke of ordination in your ministry, which makes me marvail how he could call himself *a minister of Christ's Evangel at Ed.* in his Analysis upon the Epistle to the Romans and in the mean time wanting ordination to that ministry, if this fferm of ordination which we want be so essential as he speaks." (*Wedrow's Life of Bruce*, p. 35. MS. vol. 1.) But I do not think that Rollock, in 1598, when he published the book referred to, was a minister in the same sense as Bruce and Simson were: I mean that he was not properly the pastor of a Congregation. In consequence of a petition from the town, the presbytery had authorized him to preach the morning lecture in one of the churches. (*Rec. of Presb. of Edin. Sept. 5. 1597.*) But it was not till the beginning of the year 1598 that he "was admittit to be ane of the aught ordinar ministers of this bur^t." (*Reg. of Town Council, Jan. 25. 1597.*)

Note H. pp. 122, 123.

Character of David Black.—Spotswood says, that "Mr Black was summoned" before the commissioners. (*Hist. p. 448.*) But James Melville, who was one of the commissioners, says, "Mr Robert Wallace was proceedit against and removit from St And^r be sum form of kinglie commissione, proceeding and process. *Bot Mr David Black was never anes called*, and yet, of mere kinglie power, it behovit him to be debarrit St And^r." (*Diary, p. 314.*) Spotswood farther says, that "the Elders and Deacons of the church—all upon oath deponed

that the accusations were true, and that Blake had spoken all that whereof he was convicted before the Council.—And they declared that both the one and the other were given to factions, and that they did not carry themselves with that indifference which became preachers.” Yet the archbishop had himself stated, a little before, that Black presented to the privy council, as a proof of the falsehood of the charges, two testimonials; the one subscribed by the provost, baillies, and council, and the other by the rector, dean of faculty, and professors of the university. (Hist. p. 425. Rec. of Privy Council, ult. Nov. 1596.) Now, several of the magistrates and of the professors were at that time members of session. But this is not all. It appears from the minutes of session that the Elders and Deacons felt the highest respect and regard for Black. They unanimously appointed their clerk to write him after his conviction, thanking him, in their name, for a letter which he had sent them, and promising “that quhat lyis in thair powar to further his hame-cuming, they sall do the samme with his awin advys.” And to accomplish this they agreed to petition the king, and applied to the magistrates to concur with them. (Rec. of Kirk Session of St Andrews, Jan. 9, and March 19. 1596, and May 8. 1597.)

Melville’s poem on Black’s death may be seen in *Delit. Poet. Scot.*, tom. ii. pp. 81—84. There are two encomiastic poems on him by Hume of Godscroft. (*Lusus Poetici*, pp. 53—55.) “Mr David Black min. of St Andrews” obtained a decree for an “annual rent of aucht bolls victual—furth of the lands of l. chschedis,” which he inherited from “umquhill Henry Blak burges of ye bruch of Perth, father to the said complainer.” (Act Buik of the Commissariot of St Andrews, July 18. 1594.)

Note I. pp. 161, 165.

Basilicop Doron.—According to Spotswood, this work was shewn to Melville in MS. and in consequence of extracts from it being laid before the Synod of Fife, his Majesty published it in the course of that year, 1599. (Hist. p. 457.) But this is contradicted by the account which James has himself given in his apologetic preface to the second edition, and

which I have followed in the text. I have now before me a copy of the first edition, belonging to Archibald Constable, Esq. Edinburgh; and I have no doubt that it is one of the *seven* copies (perhaps the *only* one now existing) to which that edition was limited. Its title is: "ΒΑΣΙΑΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. Devided into three Bookes. Edinbvrgh Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Majestie. 1599." X in fours. It is beautifully printed in a large Italic letter. Prefixed to it are two sonnets, the first of which, entitled "The Dedication of the booke," is not to be found in the subsequent editions. I have seen no reason to think that it was reprinted until the year 1603, in the course of which it went through three editions; all of them, probably, published after the death of Elizabeth. If this was the fact, the wonderful influence which Spotswood says it had in promoting James's accession must have been *ex post facto*. I have not seen it mentioned between 1599 and 1603. One of the seven copies might be conveyed to some of the courtiers of Elizabeth in the secret correspondence which James carried on with them during that interval; but they had other reasons than his merits as an author for favouring his title.

On comparing the first edition with the subsequent ones, I find that alterations were made on the work. For though all the charges against the Scottish preachers are retained, James found it necessary to drop or to soften some of his most unguarded and harsh expressions, and to give an ambiguous turn to the sentences which had created the greatest offence. For example, in the original edition (pp. 8, 9.) he says: "If my conscience had not resolved me, that all my religion was grounded upon the plaine words of the scripture, I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of *the vaine pride of some sedicious Preachours.*" In the edition printed at London in 1603, (p. 5.) that sentence ends—"I had neuer outwardlie avowed it, for pleasure or awe of *any flesh.*"—"The reformation of Religion in Scotland *being made by a popular tumult & rebellion* (as wel appeared by the destruction of our policie) and *not proceeding from the Princes ordour &c.*" (p. 46. orig. ed.)

“ The reformation of Religion in ‘Scotland, being extraordinarilie wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinately done by a populare tumult and rebellion of such as blindly were doing the worke of God but clogged with their own passions and particular respects, &c.’” (p. 31. ed. 1603.)—“ Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to these Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weill of Scotland; whom (*by long experience*) I haue found, no deserts can obliish,” &c. (p. 49. ed. 1599.) “ Take heed therefore (my Son) to such Pvritans, verie pestes in the Church and common-weale, whom no deserts can oblige,” &c. (p. 34, ed. 1603.) The following sentence of the original edition (p. 51.) was afterwards omitted. “ And the first that railleth against you, punish with the rigour of the lawe; for I haue else in my days bursten them with ouer-much reason.” As also the following: “ But snibble sukerlie the first minteth to it [to meddle with the policie in the pulpite]: And (if he like to appeale or declyne) when ye haue taken order with his heade, his brethren may (if they please) powle his haire and pare his nayles as the King my Grandefather said of a Priest.” (pp. 107—8.) The following character of the Islanders of Scotland is also dropped: “ Thinke no other of them all, then as Wolves and Wild Boares.” (p. 43.)

Note K. p. 291.

Foreign students in the Universities of Scotland.—The reputation of the University of St Andrews had extended to France in the year 1586, in consequence of which the father of the celebrated Andrew Rivet purposed sending him to study at it. (Dauberi Oratio Funebris, sig. * * 2. prefix. Riveti Opera, tom. iii.) The troubles of Scotland discouraged foreign students from visiting it between 1584 and 1586. The reader will not consider the following list as containing all the foreigners who studied at St Andrews. After the year 1579, the names of those who entered the New College (which was then appropriated to the study of theology) are not usually recorded in the books of the University. A separate list of them appears to

have been kept; but during Melville's principality, from 1580 to 1607, the original list has been lost, and there remains only an imperfect copy of it, apparently taken by Robert Howie, his successor. Blanks are frequently left in it, and sometimes only a part of the name is given. During the time that Howie was principal, the list, which is in his hand-writing, may be considered as nearly complete. The following names are collected from different records of the university. I have not included the names of students from England and Ireland.

List of Foreign Students at St Andrews.

An. 1588.

Isaie Chevallier *. Gulielmus Oustæus.

1591.

Jacobus Maceus, Gallus.
Petrus Thubinus, Gallus.

1594.

Joannes Burdigallæus.
Claudius Heraldus, Niortensis Gallus.
Georgius Rincoius, natione Gallus Rupellensis.
Isaacus Cuvillus, natione Gallus Sammaxantinus.
Daniel Couppeus, natione Gallus Andegavensis,
Daniel Chanelus, natione Gallus Rupellensis.
Joannes Vignæus, Gallus Nannetensis.

1595.

Andreas Swendius, Nobilis Danus.
Petrus Gombaldus.
Petrus Chevaltus.
Joannes Guivinellus.
Antonius Massonus.

* This individual was made A. M. in 1592, under the designation of "Isaias Chevalerius, Francus Rupellensis." The greater part of the foreigners attended the University during several years; but, for the sake of brevity, I have not repeated their names.

Joannes Raymondus.

[*Christophorus Johannides, Danus* *.]

1596.

Joannes Doucherus.

Jacobus Tholoscus.

Petrus Menancellus.

Goddeus, Belga.

Gallus.

Gallus.

1597.

Georgius Rouellus

Jacobus Weland.

1598.

Jacobus Rouellus.

Gerhardus Kreuterus, Germanus Hassus Herfendensis,

1599.

Jacobus Cokstochius, (Kosteckj) Polonus.

Samuel Leonardus Rasseski, Polonus.

Joan. Casimirus Francisci Junii F Heidelbergensis
Germanus.

Daniel Demetrius, Franckentalensis.

Joannes Schesessius.

Raphael Colinus.

1600.

Joannes Valace, Belga.

* This name does not occur in the Records, but it is added on the authority of the following printed Thesis: "De Predestinatione, sive De Causis Salvias et Damnationis Æternas Disputatio, in qua proside D. ANDREAS MILVINE, Sacrar. Literarvm Professore, & rectore Academiam Regiam Andreana in Scotia, Deo volente, CHRISTOPHORVS JOHANNIDES DANVS respondebit. Edinburgi Excudebat Robertvs Waldegrave Typographus Regius. 1595."

Tobias Merbeckius, Belga *.
Gulielmus Teelingius.
Samuel Gerobulus R.

1601.

Johannes Quada à Ravesteyn.
 Isaacus Massilius.
 Petrus à Scharlahen.
 Jobus Danche, Dordracenus.
 Andreas Michaell.
 Gulielmus Latinus.

1603 †.

Albertus Lothoffell, Regiomontanus Borussus.
 Christianus Hoffmeister, Regiomontanus Borussus.
 Hugo Trajanus.

1604.

Joannes Gascus.

1606.

Johannes Bochardus, Belga.
 Jonas Charisius Severinus Haffniensis Danus.
 Petrus Petrejus, Hiennius Danus.
 Johannes Rhodius, Danus.

1607.

Michael Parisius, Gallus, commendatus Collegio ab
 Ecclesia Diepens.
 Martinus Claudio, Danus.
 [Andreas Paulie †.]

* See Ames Typ. Ant. p. 15^oL.

† The register of the New College from 1603 to 1607 is almost a blank.

‡ In the Testament of Walter Ramsay, orconomus of St Salvator's College, who deceased 12 Sept. 1611, are the following articles among "dettis awand to the deid"—"It. be Martino Claudi Dutchman for himself & his two brother 40 lib. 6 s. 8 d.

It. be Andrew Paulie Dutchman as rest of his brust 9 lib."

1609.

Ericus Julius, Nobilis Danus.
Petrus Magnus, Danus.
Andreas Claudius, Danus.
Magnus Martini Danus.
David Bariandus.

1610.

Francisco à Parisiis, Italus Neapolitanus.
Dauid Barjon, Gallus Aquitanus.
Andreas Andreæ, Danus.

From 1610 to 1616, only one new foreign name occurs. From 1616 to 1633, there is a considerable number of them, including a Neapolitan.

Foreign Students at Glasgow.

1585 *.

Isaac^z Mazerius, Gallus

1589.

Jeremias Barbæus, Celta.

1590.

Petrus Buybertus, Celta.
Honoratus Guibivit, Celta.
Josua Buybertus, Celta.

1593.

Johannes Riuetus, Celta.
Jacobus Choquetus, Celta.
Salomon Cailhaudus, Celta.
Renatus Pasquivius, Celta.
Joannes Blackivian, Celta.

* During this year Melville was at Glasgow. See vol. I. p. 349.

1595.

Petrus Baalus, Celta.
 Jacobus Thirellus, Celta.
 Theodorus Thyrellus, Celta.
 Renatus Osseus, Celta.
 Carolus Ossæus, Celta.
 Gulielmus Riuetus, Celta.

1598.

Petrus Pagodus, Celta.
 Petrus Verngodus, Celta.

No other foreign names occur in the Records unless in 1622—1624, when Camero was principal of the University.

Foreign Students at Edinburgh.

An. 1592.

Gulielmus Oustæus, minister verbi.
 Daniel Platæus, Gallus provincia.
 Gabriel Bounerin, Gallus.

1595.

Thomas Maserius, Gallus.

1597.

Joannes Olivarius, Gallus.
 J. Baldoynus Gallus.
 [Mr. Æolt.*]

1598.

Joannes Argerius, Gallus.
 Petrus Balloynus, Gallus.
 Honorius Argerius, Gallus.
 Stephanus Balloynus.

* Mons. Æolt writes a letter from Edinburgh, April 5, 1597, to Mr. Tuile, minister at Mouchap, recommending Robert Boyd of Trochrig. He speaks of several of his countrymen who had gone to study at Glasgow.

1600.

Joachimus Dubouchel, Gallus.
 Theodorus Du Bouizet, Gallus.
 Joannes Wardin, Xanctoniensis.

1614.

Petrus Cosselius, Gallus Diepensis.

1629.

Joannes Fabritius, Genevensis.

Note L. p. 295.

Parochial Schools.—The Record of the “Synod of that part of the Diocie of St Andrews qlk lyeth benorth Forth” contains a report of the Visitation of Parishes in the years 1611 and 1613. This report affords, perhaps, one of the best means of ascertaining the exact state of schools within a short time before the first legislative enactment on this subject. It must be recollected, however, in any inferences that may be drawn from it, that the visitation by no means extended to all the parishes within the bounds of the Transfirthian Synod.

The parishes of Tannadice, Perth, Fettercairn, Straybrock, Falkland, Forgoud, Ebdie or Newburgh, Innetkiller, Barrie or Panbryde, Kinfaunds, Kinnaird, Inchture and Benvie, Mains and Strickmartine, Bruntisland, Innerarctie and Mathie, and Errol, were provided with schools. Those of Rascobie, Ferry of port on Craig, St Vigeans, Kilspindie and Rait, Liff, Logie and Innergowrie, Murhous, and Manifuith, were destitute of schools. Thus the parishes which had, were more than double in number to those which had not, schools. Where they were wanting, the visitors ordered them to be set up, and where the provision for the master was defective, they made arrangements for remedying the evil. The following are extracts. “Forgoud, August 14. 1611.—The skole entertained, and for the better provision of it thair is ordained that ilk pleuch in the paroche soll pay to the skolemaister xiijs. iiijd. an ilk bairne of the paroche soll pay vis. viijd. in the quarter.

Strangers that are of ane uther paroche shall pay xx. or xxxx. as the maister can procur: As it is agried in uther congregatis." This was "the common ordor."—"Straybrok, July 1. 1611. It is ordenit w^t cōmon consent that the parochineris shall give among them all for the main enance of the scoole and schoolmaister yeirlie fyftie merkis, and the minister shall give iiiij liba."—"April, 1613.—It is reported that as yet y^r cannot be had ane grammer scole in Bruntisland, the councell of the toune being slaw y^rin and contenting y^mselfis w^t ane q^o teiches y^r bairnes to reid and wreite. Forsameikle as it was anes concludit in ane visitatione y^t ane grammer scole salbe had w^tin y^r bruche and it is most necess^r y^t it be so, y^rfore it is ordain^d y^t letters be raysed upon the act of visitaⁿ." I do not know on what authority these letters were raised unless it were the 7th act of the parliament 1593. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 16.) The visitors tried the qualifications of the teachers. "Perth, Apr. 18. 1611.—Mr Patrik Makgregor scolem^r found to have passed his course of philosophy in St Leonard's College—approved."

There is frequent reference to the trial and inspection of schoolmasters in all the registers of the church courts. "Andrew dischington schoolm^r of Dunbar. The act of ye last synodall assembly giving the presbyterie commissiōn to try Andro dischingtoun schoolmaster of Dunbar not only in his habili^t to travell in the ministery but also to teache ane grammer schoole being presentit to the presbyterie the brethren ordainit him to cum heir yis day aucht dayes & 'or beginning of his tryall to teache ane piece of the first booke of the georgyckes of Virgill at the beginning y^rof to try quhither he be able to teache ane grammer schoole or not." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington, Sept. 4. 1594.)—"It wes ordanit be the presbyterie that the haill schoolm^rs w^tin yair boards sould be chargit to compeir befoir thame that thay myt not only knaw how yai wer abill to instruct the yow^t Bot also charge thame to keip ye exercis^e y^t yai my^t be ye better frequented with the heids of religioun." (Ibid. June 2. 1596.)

The following extracts from the Record of the Kirk Session

of Anstruther Wester convey curious information as to the customs of the times. "Oct. 26. 1595. Anent ye compleint given in by Henrie Cūningham doctor in ye schooll the Session thinks meit, that all the yowth in the toun be caused com to ye school to be teached. and that sic as are puir shall be furnished vpon the cōmone expenses and gif ony puir refusis to com to scholl, help of sic thing as thay neid and requir shall be refused to them. And as for sic as are able to sustein their barnes at the schooll & do their dewetie to the teacher for them, thay shall be commandit to put them to the schooll yt they may be broght vp in the feir of God and vertue. qlk if thay refuse to do, thay shall be callit before the session & admonished of ther dewetie and if after admonition they mend not then farther ordo' shall be taken w^t them at the discretion of the session. And the magistrates & counsale shall be desyred to tak fra them the quarter payments for ther child and aue dewetie after ther discretion for ye dayes meat as it shall cō aboxt vato them, whidder they put ther barnes to the schooll or not."—"18 of November. Anent the puirs it is thought meit yt a visitation shall be, and yt sic help shall be maid to them yt ar altogether vnable yt may not travell to seik to them selfs and the yowng shall get na alness bot on condition yt thay com to the school, qlk sa mony as does shall be helpit, and the maner of ther help shall be thay shall haif thrie hours granted to them everie day throw the town to seik ther meat one hour in the morning fra nyn to ten at midday fra twell to ane and at nyght fra sax hours furth and the peiple are to be desyred to be helpful to sic as will give themself to any vertue, and as for others to deall lyardly wt shetes to dryve them to seik after vertue."—"Apr. 18. 1596.—Euerie man within the town yt hes barnes suld put his barnes to the schoolle and for everie barnie suld giv ten sh. in the quarter and be fred of given meat bot at y^r owning pleasure."—"Sept. 7. 1600. Item anent the schooll agreid w^t henrie Cūningham that the pure of the town shall be put to the [school] and sa many of them as has ingyne and he takes paines upone shall giv fyv sh. in the quarter qlk the session sal pay, he shall try out the barnes they sal be

broght befoir the session be the elders of the quarters the session sall enter them to the scoll and try ther perfiting & sa caus recompens according to his paines & ther pfating and as for vther yt are not able to pfit yt thay may reid or wret, whidder it be for want of ingyn or tym to await on, sic sall be caused to learn the Lordes prayer the cōmādes & belev the heades of the catechisme y^t ar demanded on the examination to ye communion q^t travell also the session will acknowledge & recompense and as for the standing yearlie dewetie referes that to the conseil of the town to tak ordo^r w^t." (Record, ut sup.)

Note M. p. 301.

High School of Edinburgh.—The following minutes of Town Council contain the earliest regulations for this seminary that I have observed.

"July 31, 1598. The samin day the forme and ordour of thair Grammer schole being presentit and red before thame They ratifyet and approve the samin And ordanis it to be registrat in thair Counsall buiks quhairof the tenor followis.

"The opinoun Counsall and advyse of the rycht honordbill Mr. John prestoun of barnis ane of the Senators of the College of Justice M^r Jhone scherp Thomas Craig John Nicolsoun John Russell William Oliphant & James Donaldsoun advocates Mr. Robert Rollock principall of the colledge of Ed^r Henry Nesbit provost Alex. Peirsoun James Nesbit baillies of Ed^r William Napier deyne of gild of the samyn M^r Walter balcamquill James Balfour and William Watsoun ministers at Ed^r Mr William Scott writer convenit in the said colledge 26 Dec. 1597 for provyding of Maisters to the Grammer schole of Ed^r as follows :

"In primis Thay think best and expedient that thair be foure lernet and godlie men appointit regents to teache the Grammer schole of Ed^r in all time cumming be foure several classes in manner following.

"The first clas and regent thairof sall teache the first and secund rudiments of Dumbar with the Colloques of Corderius And on Sonday Catechesis palatinatus. The secund regent

sall teache t.l.e rules of the first part of Pelisso with Cicerois familiar epistles And to mak sum version thryse in the oulk And to teache thame on sonday *the foresaid Catechise laitlie sett out in latine** with *ouid de tristibus*. The third regent sall teache the secund part of Pelisso with the supplement of Erasmus Sintaxis Terence The Metamorphosis of Ouide with buquhannanis psalms on Sonday.

“ The ferd sall teache the third part of Pelisso with Buquhannanis Prosodia, Taleus figures & rhetorick figure Constructionis Thome Linacri Virgelius Salustius Cesaris Commentaria & florus Ouidij epistole and the heroick psalmes of Buquhannane on Sonday.

“ Ilkane of the foresaids four regentis sall teache thair clas in severall howssis and to this effect the hie schole sall be devydit in four howssis be thre parpennis.

“ Item to the effect thair may be the better harmonye betwix the saidis four regentis in their procedour and teacheing and that thai may the bettir answer for their dewtie dischairges simpliciter maisters or others persons quhatsumevir of teacheing of ony rudiments or ony uther buik of latine in ony of thair lecture acoholis Swa that the first regent may be the mair answerabill in grunding and instructing thame in Rudiments.

“ It is alwayis provydit in favoures of the lecture scholis That nane sall be resauet in the said first clas bot he quha can reid first perfectlie Inglis with sum wrigg and the said first regent sall nawayes be sufferit to teache any the first a b c in reding.

“ Item the said ferd regent sall be principall of the said schole and regentis and have the oversicht of thame all viz he sall sie and animadvert that every ane of the regents keip thair awin hours maner and forme of teacheing presentlie sett doun and that thai and ilkane of thame continuallie awaitt all the day lang upoun the schole in teaching & examining thair bayrnis And that all the saids regents the principall as well as the other thrie infireouris ilkane of thame teache thair awin

* “ The Catechesis laitlie sett out in latin verse.” (Minute of Oct. 19. 1598 fol. 206, b.)

olass and that ilkane of thame use correction upoun thair awin disciples except in greit & notorious faulz all the four to be assemblit in ane hous and have the principall regent to punnis the same.

“ Item the Regent of Humanitie erectet in the college sall teache zearlie y^e Rhetorick of Cassander The oraciounis of Cicero And sall caus his schollers owklie mak schort declamatiounis.

“ Item he sall teache Horace Juvenall Plautus The greik grammer with certane greik authores And as the bayrnis learnis ane Oracioun of Cicero he sall caus thame every ane of thame severally declame the samyn publiclie in the schole.

“ Convenit in the Counsale hous 9 Jan^{ui} 1597 Be direction of the kirk and Counsell zisderday The provost James Nesbit Alex^r Peirsoun baillies with Mr Walter balcanquill & Mr William Watsoun ministers Mr James Donaldson & Mr William Scott Agreyes that the persones following Mr George Haisting sall be the first regent Laurence Pacok secund Mr Mr Jhoun Balfour thrid & Mr Alex Home ferd and principall & sall gif ane pruif of their teacheing quhill mertymes next al-lanerlie And to begin at Candalmas next And to publeis aucht dayes before be proclamation throw the town the provisoun of the Grammer schole with sufficient maisters That the bayrnis may convene.

“ Hes thocht guid to mak the feyis and quarter payments of the saids regents in this maner viz The first & secund regents sall haif quarterlie ilkane threttein schilling four penneis The thrid fyfteen schillings and the ferd and principall twenty shillings.

“ Thair feyis the first and secund ilk ane twenty pund The thrid fourty merks and the principall twa hunder merks The samin day the foresaids provests baillies and Counsall discharges all masters regents and teachers of bayrnis in thair Grammer schole of all craving & resaving of any bleyis sylver of their barynis and scholers As alswa of any bent sylver exceptand four penneis at ane tyme allanerlie.” (Register of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. x. fol. 193, b.)

“ Nov. 9. 1614 The quhilk day the Prouest baillies &c. Ordanis in all tyme cuming Mr Johnne Rea m^r of thair hie scoole To keip and observe the reullis and ordouris following In teiching the schollers of the samine Imprimis that the Rudimentaris be all under ane *decor* And that Dumbar Rudiments be onlie teached as maist approved & ressavit in the cuntrie the first pairt whairof is ane introduction to the first pairt of the Dispauteris grammer and the uther part serveing as ane introduction to the secund pairt of Despauter And that thair be conjoynit thairwith the vocables of Struibusburgius* for practise of declyning dicta sapientum and the distiches of Cato, As for praxis to the wther pairt of the rudimenti.

“ That the secund classe learne Despauters first pairt and conjoynit thairwith Corderius Minora Colloquia Erasni The select epistles of Cicero Collectit be Sturmius And quhownson thay enter into the thrid buik of the first pairt That thair be exerceisit in thermis and versionis alternis.

“ That the third classe learne Despauters secund pairt and thairwith the familiar epistles of Cicero his treatise de Senectute or de Amicitia and that Terence be ever ane of their lessones And gif it be fund gude to gif thame sum ingress in poesie for interpretationoun as of Ovides epistles or his tristis As also to hald tham exerceisit in theamis and epistles.

“ And that the ford classe learne the third and fourt pairtis of Despauter with some fables of Ovid his metamorphose or Virgill adjoyning thairwith Quintus Curtius or Cesaris Commentaris And gif thair be mair capable Suetonius And that thair exercises be in versiounis making of Theamis braking and making of versis as thair spirits servis thame.

“ And that the hie classe learne the Rhetorique some of Cicero his Oratiounes or de Oratore or de Claris Oratoribus Salust Plautus Horace Juvenale Persius And that thair be exercised in Oratiounis Compositiounis versiounis and in verse

* *Duisburgensis?* Sebastian, the grammarian, was a native of Duisburg.

quhois gift serves thaim And that prose and verse be taught alternative And to teitche the greik grammer *Lyeſtiod* or *Thergius*.

“ And that thair be repetitiouns and disputes everie oulk siclyk tuyse publict examinationounis yeirlie in presence of the ministeris and magistratis The first to be in the begining of May and the uther the twentie day of October quhen the hie classe passis to the College And that nane be sufferit to assend in the schoole or pas to the College bot quha efter examination ar Judgit worthie.” (Ibid. vol. xii. fol 167, b.)

Note N. p. 301.

Grammar School of Prestonpans.—The following is the account of Hume's admission to this school. “ At hadintoun y^c 25 of Junij 1606. The q^{lk} day Mr Joⁿ ker minister of y^c panis pducit y^c pntat^one of Mr Alex^r hoome to be schoolm^r of y^c Schoole of y^c panis soundit be Mr Joⁿ Davedsone for instructioun of the youth in hebrew greek & latine subscryvet be yais to quhome Mr Joⁿ davedsone gave power to noiāt y^c man q^{lk} pntat^one y^c pbrie allowit and ordenit y^c moderator & clerk to subascribe y^c samine in y^r names q^{lk} yay ded. As also ordeanit yt y^c said kirk of y^c panis suld be visited vpon y^c eight day of Julij next to come for admissione of y^c said Mr Alex^r to y^c said office The visitors wer appoynit Mr Ar^d os-wald Mr Robert Wallace Mr George greir Mr andro black-hall & Mr andro Maghye to teach.”—“ At Saltprestoun, July 8. 1606. The haill parischoners being poisit how yay lyckit of y^c said Mr Alex^r w^t vniforme consent being particularly inqwyrit schew y^r guid lycking of him and y^r willingnes to accept and receiv him to y^c said office Q^rupon y^c said Mr Alex^r wes admittit to y^c said office & in token of y^c approba^one both of visitors & of y^c prischonēs pnt both y^c ane and y^c vother tuik y^c said Mr Alex^r be y^c hand & y^c haill magistratis gentlemen & remanēt parischoners pnt faithfullie pnisit to cōcurre for y^c furtherice of y^c work y^t zit restis to be done to y^c said schoole as also to keipt y^c said Mr Alex^r and his scholleris skaithlis finallie for farther authorizing of y^c said (sic) it wes thought

meitt y^c y^c haill visitors & parichonēs pnt suld enter y^c said Mr Alex^r into y^c said schoole & y^r heir him teache q^{lk} also wes doone" (Rec. of Preab. of Haddington.)

The Parliament, in the course of that year, erected "in ane paroche kirk," the kirk builded "be the labouris paynis and expensas of umq^{ie} Mr Johne dauidsoun" and ratiefid the school founded and doted by him "for teaching of Latin grek and Hebrew toungis." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 302.)

In a charter granted, Nov. 19. 1615, by John Hamilton of Preston, as superior of the lands on which the kirk and school were built, it is narrated, that the late Mr. John Davidson had deserved highly of the whole church and commonwealth, and particularly of the parish of Saltpreston, "he having preached for many years in this parish without any fee or reward, built at his own expence a splendid church, furnished with a large clock, a manse, garden, and other pertinents, with an acre of arable land for a glebe to the minister; and having resolved (as appears from his testament) to sell his whole patrimonial inheritance, consisting of valuable houses and lands in Dunfermline, and to devote the whole produce to the support of the church and ministry of the said parish, which purpose he would have carried into execution if he had not been prevented by death." It then goes on to state: "Dictus quondam Magister Joannes Dauedsoun Aream quondam vulgo vocat. harlaw hill," &c. "On an area which he purchased from me he finished an excellent house to serve as a school for the education of the youth of the parish in good letters, sciences, and virtue [a dwelling house for the master is afterward specified] and to furnish a stipend for the master of the school he bequeathed all his moveables, to wit, his household furniture, his clothes, his library, consisting of a large collection of books of all kinds, his bills and obligations for debts owing him, and all the money in his possession, with the exception of certain legacies to his friends." (Charter of Mortification, among the Papers of the Kirk Session of Prestonpans.)

It appears from this document that Davidson was a native

of Dunfermline. "Mag. Joannes dalzell" was master of the school, when this charter was given.

Note O. p. 442.

Writings of James Melville.—Under the year 1591, he gives the following account of what was most probably his first publication. "Then did I first put in Print sum of my poesie, to wit, the description of the Spanyarts Naturall out of Julus Scaliger, w^t sum exhortationes for warning of kirk and countrey." (Diary, p. 225.) In a short history of his life at Anstruther, prefixed to his Diary, he says: "In the year 1598 I cawsit print my Catechisme for the profit of my peiple and bestowit y^r upon fyve hunder marks quhilk God moved the hart of a maist godlie and lowing frind to frelie offer to me in len for yt effect: of the [quhilk] I remean addettit, bot could never to my knowlege attein to a hunder marks again for the buiks." (ib. p. 10.) This rare book was published under the following title: "A Spirituall Propine of a Pastour to his People. Heb. 5. 12. You whom it behouued, &c. Jam. 1. 19, 21, 22. And sa my beloued brethren, &c. [Edinburgh, Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Maiestie, Cum Privilegio Regio *."] It is in quarto, and consists of 127 pages. On the back of the title page are "Contents of the Buik." The *Epistle Dedicatore* is addressed "To the Reverende Fathers and Brethren, Elders of the Congregation of Kilrinny, and haill flocke committed to their gournement."—"Receiue Reuerende Fathers, louing brethren, and deir flock, this *Spirituall Propine*: conteining in short summe the substance of that exercise of tryall, wherewith ye are acquainted in dayly doctrine, before ye communicate at the Table of the Lorde, togidder with the grounds of the doctrine of godlinesse and saluation, contryued in a peece of not vnpleasant and verie profitable Poesie," &c. It is dated "From Ansteruther, the 20 day of Nouember, 1598. Your Pastor, louing and faithful be the grace of God vnto the death, JAMES MAL-

* The imprint is supplied from the title to the second part.

VILL." There follow sonnets, commendatory of the work, by M. R. D. [Mr Robert Durie]; M. I. D. [Mr John Davidson] A. M. [Andrew Melville] M. I. I. [Mr John Johnston] M. W. S. [Mr William Scott] M. I. C. and M. I. C. [probably Mr John and Mr James Carmichael.] They are all in Scotch, except that subscribed A. M. which is in Latin, and accompanied with a translation, probably by James Melville. The first part of the work is in prose, and consists of prayers and meditations suited to different occasions, directions for self-examination, and "the forme of tryall and examination, taken of all sic as ar admitted to the Table of the Lord," in question and answer. The second part is in poetry, and is introduced by the following title: "A Morning Vision: or Poem for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith and Repentance: Wherein the Lords Prayer, Belief, and Commands, and sa the whole Catechisme, and right use thereof, is largely expounded." It is prefaced by a metrical dedication to "James the Sext, King of Scoties, and Prince of Poets in his language;" and contains, among other devotional and moral pieces, a singular composition, set to music, and entitled: "Celeusma Navticvm: The Seamans Shovle or mutuall exhortation, to ga forward in the spirituall voyage."

In giving an account of treatises against the imposition of prelacy on the Church of Scotland, Row says: "I have also seen a little poem in print, called the *Black Bastill, or a Lamentation of the Kirk of Scotland*, compiled by Mr James Melville, sometime Minister at Anstruther and now confyned in England, 1611." (Hist. pp. 311—2.) I have not met with a copy of the printed work, but a MS. volume, communicated to me by Robert Graham, Esq. contains a poem which I have no doubt is a transcript of that to which Row refers. It is entitled *The Blackbastill*, and consists of 93 stanzas. Prefixed to it is the date, "November 1611."

The following stanzas form part of the exordium.

The air was cleart w^t quhyt and sable clouds
hard froist, w^t frequent schours of hail and snow

into ye nicht the stormie vind with thounds
 and balfoull billows on ye sea did blaw
 men beastis and foulis vnto y^r beilde did draw
 fain yan to find ye fruct of summer thift
 quhen clad w^t snaw was sand, wodd crag and clift.

I satt at fyre weill guyrdit in my goun
 The starving sparrows at my window cheipid
 To reid ane quhyle I to my book was boun :
 In at ane panne, ye prettie progne peipp'd,
 and moved me for fear I sould haue sleiped,
 To ryse & sett ane keasement oppen wyd,
 To sie giue robein wald cum in and byde.

Puir progne sueitlie I haue hard ye sing
 Y^r at my window one ye summer day ;
 and nov sen wintar hidder dois ye bring
 I pray ye enter in my hous & stay
 Till it be fair and yan yous go yi way
 for trewlie thou be treated curteouslie
 and nothing thrallid in thy libettie.

Cam in, sueit robin, welcum verrilie,
 Said I, & doun I satt me be ye fyre,
 Then in cumis robein reidbreist mirrelie
 and souppis & lodgis at my harts desyre :
 But one ye morne I him peaswed to tyre ;
 for phebus schyning suetlie him allurd.
 I gaue him leif, and furth guid robein furd.

The poet betakes him to his meditations, and sees " full
 eleirlie in ane visioun,"

Ane woman w^t ane cumlie countenance
 W^t ferdit face and garisch in attyre
 Ane croun of glas vponne hir heid did [glasse]

hir clothes war collourit cōtrair hir [desyre]
 ane heauie zock layd one hir neck & [lyre]
 of reid ane scepter in hir hand sche buir
 in riche aray zit sillie leane and puir.

Hoysed wp one hie wpone a royal throne
 thair feirclie satt abone ye woman's head
 (which held hir wnd' feir and all vndone
 as prisoner) ane rampand Lyon reid :
 This lyon craftie foxes tua did leid :
 and round about hir threttein wolues danced
 to haue ye keiping of hir scheip advanced.

After the leopard, “the Lyons grit lieutenant,” has fenced the court, and a wolf, “clad in silk,” has made “ane preitching all of woll and milk,” the Lion (the King) is declared supreme, and at his will and pleasure the wolves (the bishops) are set over the flock ; on which the captive lady breaks out into a “heavie Lamētatioun,” which occupies the rest of the poem.

In the same MS. is another poem (of 69 stanzas) on the same subject with the preceding, evidently composed by James Melville, and entitled : “ Thrie may keip counsell give twa be away; or Eusebius, Democritus, Heraclitus.” Democritus says :

I laucht to sie how lords ar maid of louns
 And how thai ar intretted in our touns.
 Quher sumtyme thai war fain for to reteir yame
 ffor rockis & stoannes of wyffis yt come so near yame.
 I laucht to sie thame now sett ov' ye flocks
 Who come to cowrt wt thair auld mullis & sockis
 Quher thai war nocht regairdit with ane sows
 By king, by cowrt, nor any of his hous.

I laucht how Jon & george who war most sclandrous
 ar lords advanced of Glasgow & St androus

how william, androu, sanders, & the laif
 by perjurie & playing of the knaif
 ar styllit in god our fathers reuerend
 who scarris amongs our pastours trew war kend
 and justlie so. for now ar thai declynd
 and ar betuin men of contrarie mynd.

In the MS. volume entitled *Melvini Epistolæ*, is a translation into English verse of part of the *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Marcellus Palingenius: “Dedicat to the E. of D.” [Earl of Dunbar.] It contains only *Aries* and part of *Taurus*. There can be no doubt of its being the work of James Melville. The MS. is apparently in his hand-writing, and on the margin is a number of variations.—His apology for the Church of Scotland does not appear to have been printed till many years after his death: “Ad Serenissimum Jacobum Primvm Britanniarvm Monaracham, Ecclesiae Scoticane libellus supplex, ἀπολεγόμενος καὶ ὀλοφυγόμενος. Auctore Jacobo Melvino Verbi Dei Ministro, Domini Andreæ Melvini *πατέρων*, nepote. Londini,—1645.” 8vo. In the Advocates’ Library are two poems in MS., “Funeral Tears” and a “Dialogue,” on the death of James Melville, written by “Thomas Melville.” (Jac. v. 7. nos. 6, 7.) I subjoin the epitaph on him by his uncle, printed at the end of the last mentioned book, which is rare.

“Epitaphium Auctoris, à Domino
 Andrea Melvino conscriptum.

Chare nepos, de fratre nepos, mihi fratre, nepote
 Charior, et quicquid fratre nepote queat
 Charius esse usquam; quin me mihi charior ipso,
 Et quicquid mihi me charius esse queat.
 Consiliis auctor mihi tu, dux rebus agendis,
 Cùm privata, aut res publica agenda fuit.
 Amborum mens una animo, corde una voluntas,
 Corque unum in dupli corpore, et una anima.
 Vnā ambo vexati odiis immanibus, ambo
 Dignati et Christi pro grege dura pati.

Dura pati, sed iniqua pati, sub crinito ficto,
 Ni Christum, et Christi crimen amare gregem.
 Qui locus, aut que me hora tibi nunc dividat, idem
 Hic locus, me haec eadem dividat hora mihi.
 Tune tui desiderium mihi triste relinquas?
 Qui prior huc veni, non prior hinc abeam?
 An sequare usque comes? sic, sic juvat ire sub astra,
 Tecum ego ut exul eram, tecum ero et in patria.
 Christus ubi caput, aeternam nos poseit in aulam,
 Arctius ut jungat nos sua membra sibi.
 Induviis donec redivivi corporis artus
 Vestiat, illustrans lumine purpureo.
 Aeternum ut patrem, natumque et flamen ovantes,
 Carmine perpetuo concelebremus, Io.

Note P. p. 466.

Writings of Andrew Melville.—I subjoin a list of his printed works.

1. “Carmen Mosis—Andrea Melvino Scoto Avetore. Basilea. M.D. LXXIII.” 8vo. (See above, vol. i. p. 92.)
2. “ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΚΙΟΝ. Ad scotiam Regem, habitum in Coronatione Reginæ.—Per Andream Melvinum.—Edinburgi 1590.” 4to. (See above, vol. i. p. 489.)
3. “Carmina ex Doctissimis Poëtis Selecta, inter quæ, quædam Geo. Buchanani & And. Melvini inseruntur. 1590.” 8vo. (Ruddimanni Bibl. Roman. p. 71.)
4. “Principis Scoti-Brittannorvm Natalia. Edinburgi—1594.” 4to. (See above, vol. ii. p. 51.)
5. “Theses Theologicae de libero arbitrio. Edinburgi, 1597.” 4to. (Sibbald, de Script. Scot. p. 42.) These might be the Theses of some of his students.
6. “Scholastica Diatriba de Rebus Divinis ad Anquarendam & inveniendam veritatem, à candidatis S. Theol. habenda (Deo volente) ad d. xxvi. & xxvii. Julij in Scholis Theologis Acad. Andreanæ, Spiritu Sancto Præside. D. And. Melvino S. Theol. D. et illius facultatis Decano moderante. Edinburgi, Excudebat Robertus Waldegrave Typographus Regius 1599.” 4to. Pp. 16. (In Bibl. Coll. Glas.)

7. "Gathelus, seu Fragmentum de origine Gentis Scotorum." This poem was first printed along with "Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historicæ Regum Scotorum. Amstel. 1602."

8. "Pro supplici Evangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia—Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Authore A. Melvino. 1604." (See above, p. 190.)

9. Select Psalms turned into Latin verse, and printed (probably at London) in 1609. (See above, p. 357.)

10 "Nescimus Quid Vesper Servs Vehat. Satyra Menippæa Vincentii Liberii Hollandii. MDCXIX." 4to. Pp. 35. Another edition was published in the year 1620. A copy of each is in the British Museum. On the back of the title is a letter, "Liberius Vincentius Hollandus Francisco de Ingenuis S. P. D." dated "Amstelodami rv. Idus Sept. Anno a Christo nato M.DC.XIX." I have not seen this work, but from extracts which have been communicated to me, it appears to be a satire partly in prose and partly in verse, and refers much to the affairs of Venice. This last circumstance, taken in connection with Melville's advanced age, excites a suspicion that he was not the author. And yet if he was not, it is strange that it should have been so generally ascribed to him both by Scottish and foreign writers. (Barbier, Dict. des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes, tom. iii. p. 489. Charters, Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 4.) It has also been ascribed to Nicholaus Crassus, a Venetian.

11. "Viri clarissimi A Melvini Mvsæ et P. Adamsoni Vita et Palinodia et Celsæ commissionis—descriptio. Anno M. DC. XX." 4to. Pp. 67. Melville was not consulted in the publication of these poems, nor was he the author (as has often been inaccurately stated) of the tracts added to them. In the epistle to the reader, the publisher says: "quia absque eius venia; gratum illi an futurum sit hoc meum studium nescio."—"Est vir iste clarissimus omni invidia & exceptione major: virosque illustres Josephum Scaligerum, Theodorum Bezan & alios habet laudum præcones: non ideo opus est illi meo encomio. Tantum descripti vitam Adamsoni," &c.—John Adamson (afterwards Principal of the College of Edinburgh)

was employed in collecting Melville's fugitive poems, (see above, p. 456.) but whether he or Calderwood was the publisher of the *Musæ*, I cannot determine.

12. " De Adiaphoris. Scoti τε τυχότες Aphorismi. Anno Domini 1622" 12mo. Pp. 20. (In Bibl. Jurid. Edin.)

13. " Andreæ Melvini Scotie Topographia." This poem is prefixed to the *Theatrum Scotiæ* in *Blaeu's Atlas*. " 'Tis Buchanan's prose turn'd into elegant verse;" says bishop Nicholson. (Scot. Hist. Lib. p. 18.) In a letter to Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, " ult. decemb. 1655," J. Blaeu acknowledges a letter from him containing " les corrections du vers de Melvinus." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 3. 19. no. 35.)

Melville was a large contributor to the collection of poems, by Scotsmen and Zealanders, " In Obitvm Johannis Wallasiæ Scoto Belgæ—Lugd. Batav. 1603." 4to. There are two poems by him in John Jonston's " Sidera Veteris Ævi," p. 33; a work which was published along with his " Iambi Sacri," and his " Cantica Sacra Novi Testamenti—Salmurii 1611." He has also verses prefixed to " Comment. in Apost. Acta M. Joannis Malcolmi Scoti—Middelb. 1615." Malcolm, in his Dedication to the King, and in the body of the work (p. 264,) boldly defends Melville, and laments his removal from Scotland.

Among his works in manuscript are the following :

1. " D. Andreæ Melvini epistole Londino e turri carceris ad Jacobum Melvinum Nouocastri exulantem scriptæ, cum ejusdem Jacobi nonnullis ad eundem. Annis supra millesimū sexcentessimo octavo, nono, decimo, undecimo. Item Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Oratio Apologetica ad Regem An. 1610. mense Aprilis." This volume (which is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh) brings down the correspondence between Melville and his nephew till the end of the year 1613. It belonged to James Melville, and is partly in his hand-writing. Before his death he committed it to the care of his friend, Sir Patrick Hume of Ayton, who has inserted the following note : " Hic visū est insere (sic) paralipomena quædam eiusdem et

aliorū quorū ~~αὐτορχθόν~~, cum libellis ipsis ipse mihi cōmendavit author paulo ante obitū. Pa Hume."

2. "Letters from Andrew Melville to * * * in the United Provinces." (In Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 42.) They are six in number, and were addressed to Robert Durie at Leyden.

3. "Floretum Archiepiscopale; id est, errores Pontificii, assertiones temerariae, et hyperbolicae interpretationes." (Ibid. no. 47.) They are extracted from archbishop Adamson's academical prelections at St Andrews, in Melville's hand-writing, and subscribed by him.

4. "Paraphrasis Epistolæ ad Hebræos Andreæ Melvini." (Harl. MSS. Num. 6947. 9.) It is a metrical paraphrase of the whole epistle.

5. "A Melvinus in Cap. 4. Danielis." (In Bi. Coll. S. Trinit. Dublin.)

There are verses by him, in his own hand-writing, among the Sempill Papers (MS. in Arch. Eccl. Scot. vol. 28. num. 7.); and in a collection of Letters from Learned Men to James VI. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.) On a blank leaf at the beginning of a copy of *Aulus Gellius* (transmitted to me by Dr Lee) there is a poem written, with this title: "Canticum Maris, pariphrasticos expressum, a D. Andrea Melvino Scoto." I have not seen it elsewhere. It is followed by poems of Buchanan, all of which have been published. The volume bears this inscription, among others, "Liber Māgri Gulielmi Guildej. 1610."—Copies of Melville's large *Answer to Downham's Sermon* were at one time not uncommon. In enumerating the writers in defence of ruling elders, a foreign divine mentions "Ex Scotis, And. Melvinus in M. S. refut. concionis Downami." (Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. ii. p. 458.) It is also mentioned by Charters. (Acco. of Scot. Divines, p. 4.) Charters says that there is a copy of a Latin commentary by him in the Library of the Students of Divinity at Edinburgh. "I have seen also in the library of the College of Glasgow a large folio, entitled, *Prælectiones in Epistolam ad Romanos*, in small write, said to

be writ by Mr Melvil." (Wodrow's Life of Mr Andrew Melville, p. 111.) Neither of these MSS. is now to be found.

Besides those formerly mentioned, encomiastic verses on Melville were written by David Wedderburn, (*Musæ Sacrae*, tom. i. p. xlviij.) by John Dunbar, (*Epigr.* p. 29.) by John Leech, (*Epigr.* p. 86.) and by James Wright. (*Poemat. pref. Strangio, De Interpret. Scripturæ.*)

APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

N^o I. [Orig. Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. Num. 15. 24.]

Letter from George Buchanan to Sir Thomas Randolph.

To his singular freynd M. Randolph maister
of postes to the queines g. of Ingland. In london.

I resauit twa pair of lettres of you sens my latter wryting
to you. wyth the fyrist I ressavit Marianus Scotus, of quhylk I
thank you greatly, and specialy that your ingles men ar fund
liars in thair cronicles allegyng on hym sic thyngs as he never
said. I haif beyne vexit wyth seiknes al the tyme sens, and
geif I had decessit ye suld haif losit both thankis and recom-
pens, now I most neid thank you bot geif wear brekks vp of
thys foly laitly done on the border, than I wyl hald the recom-
pense as Inglis geir. bot gif peace followis and nother ye die
seik of mariage or of the twa symptomes following on mariage
quhylks ar jalozie and cuccaldry. and the gut eary not me
away, I most other find sum way to pay or ceis kyndnes or ellis
geifing vp kyndnes pay zou w^r evil wordis, and geif thys fasson
of dealing pleasit me 1 haif reddy occasion to be angry wyth
you that haif wissit me to be ane kentys man, quylk in a
maner is ane centaur half man, half beast. and yit for ane cer-
taine consideration I wyl pas over that iniury, imputyng it
erar to your new foly than to ald wisdome, for geif ye had
beine in your ryt wyt ye being anis escapit the tempesteous
stormes and naufrage of mariage had never enterit agane in
the samynge dangeris. for I can not tak you for ane Stoik

philosopher, having ane head inexpugnable w^t the frenetyk tormētis of Jalozie, or ane cairless [*margin, skeptik*] hart that taks cuccaldris as thyng indifferent. In this caise I most neidis prefer the rude Scottis wyt of capitaine Cooburne to your inglis solomonical sapience, quhylk very of ane wyfe deliuerit hir to the queyne againe, bot you deliuerit of ane wyfe castis your self in the ~~samyn~~ nette, et *ferre potes dominans saluis tot restibus ullam*. and so capitaine cooburne is in better case than you for his seiknes is in the feitte and zouris in the heid. I pray you geif I be out of purpose thynk not that I suld be maryit, bot rather consider your awyn dangereuse estait of the quhylk the spoking has thus troublit my braine and put me so far out of the way. As to my occupation at this present tyme, I am besy w^t our story of Scotland to purge it of sum Inglis lyis and Scottis vanite, as to maister knoks his historie is in hys freindis handis, and thai ar in cōsultation to nitigat sum part the acerbite of certaine wordis and sum taintis quhair in he has followit to much sū of your inglis writaris as M. hal et *suppilatorem eius* Graftone &c As to M. beza I fear y^t eild quhylk has put me from verses making sal deliure him sone a Scabie poetica, quhylk war ane great pitye for he is ane of the most singular poetes that has beine thys lang tyme. as to your great prasyng gevin to me in your līe geif ye scorne not I thank you of luf and kyndnes toward me bot I am sorie of your corrupt iugement. heir I wald say mony iniuries to you war not yat my gut cōmandis me to cesse and I wyl als spair mater to my nixt writings. Fairweall and god keip you. at Sterling the Sext of august

Be youris at al power

G. Buchanan,

N^o II. [*Cotton MSS. Calig. c. vii. 11.*]

Extract of a Letter from Henry Woddrington, to Secretary Walsingham. 1582, Maii 26.

Upon Wednesday evening the xxiiid of this instant Mr John Dury preached in the Cathedrall church of Edenbrough

where diuers noble men were present the effect therof tending to the reproof of the bishop of Glasco as phaynly tearyng him an apostate and maynsworne traytor to god and his churche And that even as the scribes and pharises could fynd none so mete to betray Christ as one of his owne schollers & disciples even so this duke with the rest of his faction can not fynd so mete an instrument to subuert the religion planted in Scotland as one of their owne nombre, one of their owne brethrine, and one nourished amonge their owne bowels.—— And lykewise he touched the present sent by the duke of Guyse to the k. in this maner of speaches.

I pray yo^u what should move Guyse that bluddy persecutor, y^t enemy vnto all treuth, that pillar of the pope to send this present, by one of his trustiest servants vnto o^r k. ? not for any love no. no. his pretence is knownen. And I beseech the lord the church of Scotland feale y^t not ouersone The k. matie was perswaded not to receave y^t for why? what amytie or freindshipp can we looke for at his hands who hath bene the bluddiest persecutor of the professors of the trethe in all france neither was any notable murder or havock of gods, but he was at that in person. And yet for all this the duke and Arrain will nedes haue o^r king to take a present from him.

If god did threaten the captivitie and spoyle of Herusalem because that there king Hesekia did receave a lre and present from the king of Babylon, shall we think to be free comytting the like or rather worse? And because yo^u my l^ls w^{ch} both doe see me and even at this pnt heares me I say because you shall not be hereafter excusable I tell yo^u that tho^u with teares, I feale such confusion to be like to ensewe, y^t I feare me, will be the subuersiou and ruyne of the preaching of gods Evangile here in the church of Scotland. I am the more playne wth you because I knowe their is some of yo^w in the same action wth the rest. I knowe I shalbe called to an accompt for thes words here spoken, but let them doe with this carkasse of myne what they will for I knowe my sowle is in the hands of the lorde and therefore I will speake & that to yo^r coademnaⁿon vnesse yo^u spedely returne.

And then in his prayres made he prayd vnto the Lord either to convert or confound y^e dede.

The sermon was very longe, godly, and plaine to the great confort and rejoise of the most nombre that herd yt, or doe here of yt. And for thos points w^{ch} I am informed of I thought yt convenient to signifie the same vnto y^e honor.

N^o III. [Orig. Harl. MSS. 7004. 9.]

Letter of Andrew Melville, to T. Savile and G. Carleton.

Doctissimis adolescentibus et amicis integerrimis D. Th. Savile et G. Carletoni Oxoniensibus. Orationem.

Humanitas eti mea vestra incr^{ib}ilis, et amor in vos meus singulatim flagitabant a me iamdiu literas: easq; ad singulatim vestrum principias petisse, quam utrumq; committentes. Verum nee ante quidquam ad vos literarum dedi, iis de causis, quae facilius est vobis existimare quam mihi scribere: et nunc damn^u, cum a me vt scribam impetro, non ausim distingere epistol^u, quae tot anteviores literae, tanta morum similitudo bonorum, tam praelata honestissimarum artium studia arctioribus homicidie vindalia coniungunt: nec distrahi patitur anteaetate vitiis iurundissima consuetudo. Quare vos, pro vestram istam veterem, et nuperae hanc inter nos amicitiam oro atq; obtestor, vt praeferam cessationem meam mihi pro vestra humanitate condonetis: et has vias ad utrumq; literas, bisarum aut etiam plurium, ad singulos vestrum loci esse patiamini: Nec me propterea non virtutum bdnium esse putatis, si vobis videar duos parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare: Quanquam pictorum mos est; tamen finitimus pictori poeta nec pigmentorum arculis libertior, quam liberior audiendi licentia. Verum haec parcias: ne dum me excuso, de Carletoni aut arte aut gloria detraham. Quis spiritu in poesi nihil generosus, nihil ecloga dulcior, nihil cultius aut argutius epligratim: adeo vt, si omnia hoc modo scripserit, non soluz aequales omnes superare, sed etiam cum emni antiquitate certare videatur. De munere literario, qua me re de facie quidem antea ignotum vterque vestrum affectissis, habeo gratiam; Vt cetera omittam humanitatis officia, tum ab

vnivēra fere academia in nos homines ignotus profecta, tum a
vobis in me p̄ recipue collata. Ita viuam vt nihil usquam vide-
rem in omni vita splendidius aut magnificentius vestra academ-
ia: nihil gravius p̄receptoribus aut discipulis humanius: nihil
vobis duobus aut amabilius aut amantius: fortunati ambo: si
quid mea carmina possunt, etc. Immo tua Carletonae potius,
quæ plurimū atque adeo omnia possunt ad te et alios a mortal-
itatis et oblivionis iniuria vindicandos. Ad quam mirificā in
pangendis versibus felicitatem accedit incredibilis verum ma-
thematicarum scientia. Diuinum, Sauile, ingenium, et erudi-
tio tanta, quantam in istam artatem credere nunquam putauj.
Quid multa? μηνὶς ἀδελφὸν τὸν ταλαπότηρον ἐπίσημον φανεῖ
ἄντερος ἴγματος δι' αὐτοῦ, etc. Verum de vobis alias et apud alios.
Quod reliquum est, suauissime idemq. doctissime Sauile, ex-
pectatione promissi tui fretus humanitate tua, moneor, vt ad-
moneam te, non vt flagitem: quid est? fortasse inquis. Man-
illiana tua, vel, si manis, Scaligerana, liceat mihi per te (vel tuo
potius beneficio concedatur) ex interuallo regustata. Superio-
ra tua in me beneficia hac etiam accessione (mihi crede) non
parum cumulabis. Salutem a me et fratribus toti Academie
et nominatum vestro collegii prefecto ceterisq. amicis commu-
nibus. Valete *in xvgia*. Raptim Londini. 15 Decemb. 1584.

Vestri Studiosissimus

And: Melvinus.

Nº IV. [Orig. Harl. MSS. Num. 7004. 2.]

Archbishop Adamson to Archbishop Whitgift.

Pleis your grace imediatle after my retourninge in Scotland the king his maieste held his parliamēt where besides many loveable actis his hienes hath restored in integrū the estate of Bishops and hath contramandet the seignoreis presbiteris not only be good reasoun of Scripture and antiquite, bot likwayis in respect his hienes had livele experiance, that they wer gret instrumētis of unquietnes and rebellionoun be there populare dirordo'. I doubt not your G. hath

bene sufficiente enformed of the late attemptatis moved be some of o' nobilitie whervnto many ministeris bring prive and their seignoress and therefore not able to abyde the triall of the law are fugitive in England where they pretext as I am certeynale enformed, the cans of religioun albeit it be of an yndoubtedt truth, that they have no other cans bet there practisings counsellings and allowing of the last seditious factis and the refusinge of the lawfull authoritie of there ordinaries the Bishope, wherenvnto notwithstanding the godle and quiet spirites w^t in the realme hathe willingle aggreit and subcryued The quhilk I have thought most necessarie to adverteſ your grace vpon whose shoulderis the care of the spirituall estate dothe cheſtie reſpoſe, that your grace may be moſte assured, that the king his maiestie o' master his entencion is with the sincerite of the werde qlk his hienes in his heart dothe reverenſe, to conforme ſik an police as may be an example to other comounweathis, as I did ſhow yo^r g. in particulaſe confeſſe at yo^r awin heaſt of Lambeth, I am assured divers misreportis wilbe made vnto yo^r G. of the banishment of ſo many ministeris bot young g. ſhall beſte that there is never one banished, nether have they abiddin that notable ſentencē of Johnae Chrisotome, Ego ex hoc throno non diſcedam niſi imperatoria vi coaſtus, for they are fugitive onele vpon there awin guiltines Swa that I am moſte assured if her maiestie be your g. ſhalbe ſufficiente enformed of the truthe, her hienes will not ſuffer ſik ſlaundreous perſouneſ vnder pretext of religioun to abyde in her countrey to infecte the estate of Englande w^t their ſeditious practiſes qlk they have beſe about to eſtabliſſ in this countrey And for my awn parte your g. may assure her hienes albeit her m. hathe bene otherwayis enformed at my being in England, that after my ſmall credite and habilitie I ſhall endeavor my ſelf to the preferva^oun of the true religioun professeit in the whole yle and comoun quietnes and mutual amitiſ of her m. and o' master In the qlk poynte if her m. had further emploied me at that tyme I could have done what laye in me, But your g. knawis in what ielose my doings wer, albeit I protest afore god I ment nothing bot in sincerite of

heart, wishing next of master best prosperitie to her hienes for the conservation of the truth in this ysland be there concorde. I shall not forgeit yo^r g. galloway naig, in testimonie of mutuall favor, when any opportunit comodite shall present the self be any sufficiēt berar, wishing heartle your g. welfare and to assist ws with your l. prayer, help and gudwill at her hienes hande in mayntaininge of this goode work against the pretended seignoreis, the end whereof tendis to evert monarcheis and destroy the scepto^r of princes and to confounde the whole estate and iurisdiction of the kirk qlk I should be verie sore after so longe continewance of tyme to see decaye in our dayis. Nostra secordia et ignavia qui ad clavum sedemus. It wilbe your g. pleasor to salute my lorde bishope of London in my name and my lorde archbishop of york his grace for the goode entertenemet I resaved at his house, thanking her hienes moste humble therfore, committis your g. to the protectioun of god frome S^t Andross the 16 of Junij 1584

Yo^r gracie verie lovinge and assured brother symmyste and cooperare in the lord his vyneyarde

Patrick Archbischop of S^t
Sanctandross.

To my lorde his grace of Canterbury geove these.

N^o V. [Cotton MSS. Calig. C. VIII. 54, 63, 78.]
Extracts of Letters from Davidson to Secretary Walsingham,
concerning the administration of Arran.

Edinb. June 15 1584.

—Vpon a lfe written to the Magistrats of this towne by Mr Ja: Lawson signifyinge the causes of his withdrawinge himself from his charge the k. had caused an answere to be drawen & sent hether to the said Magistrats & Burgesses to be sub-signed by them charginge Mr Ja: and his fellowministers wth hereticall and seditious doctrine, wth other things verie hard in their reproche w^{ch} beinge presented vnto them and redd in open counsell the Provost who hath ben here

before condemned as a man to pliable to the hard commandments of this courte suddenlie brake forth into an exclamation desireinge to lyve no longer as one that hadd alreadie seen too much of the miseryes to come vypon his country and immediatlie beinge readie to swonne in the counsell was conveiged home extreame sick and now lieth verie hardly and not like to escape. Notwithstanding both he and the rest thought it good to depas certe of their compaine to repaire vnto the k: wth their humble excuse and petition that thei might not be forced against their consciences to slander thes against whos integrtie of lief and soundnes of doctrine thei cold never take exception, but in fine the peons & lie are returned with fift charge to subscribe it in the forme it is or answere the contempt at their pills. The Secretary Melsland beinge appoynted to see it don and to take the names of souche as shall refuse the same.

At St Andrewes the Buschopp hath in the vacantyme played his parte so well in the perseve of good men as that both the professore^s and students in the Colledge of Theologie haue abandoned the place and wthdrawen themselves for ther saerties where thei can finde safeest refuge.

Edinb. July, 1584

—Mr James Skeene, the Jesuit of whome I haue heretofore duertised your hon^r had as I credibly learne previe access [to a con]ference with 40 * at St. Andrewes It is assured me that [he hath] secrest cōmission both from 20 and others. & hath desyred sorely for the home coming of diuers of his fellow Jesuitts wth he hath thus farr obteyned that they shall be ouirseen and not troubled by his Ma^c or his lawes so they will tak their hazard against the popular fury, & with this caution that they be not overhasty shensin till matters be better settled wth trafficke wth him & others of his sorte deth wonderfullly increase the fear & suspition of this k. desertion or

* It appears from another letter of Davison (Cal. C. VIII. 78.) that 40 is the cipher for the King of Scotland.

careles account of religion.—Your honor may have some
ghess of or good natures in Court by their sorrow for the mur-
ther of the poor pr. of orange w^{ch} 40 hath openly confessed to
be such an end as he deserued. & is generally allowed and re-
joyced at amongst the most part of our politiques theare. Having
written thus farr this letter being vnclosed till this morning by
occasion of some expected aduyse from a friend or two I
have in the mean tyme vnderstood that Mr John Howeson
minister of Paslay is apprehended & to pass on assyse the xxiith
of this pnt at Perth. for inveighing against the late acts of plia-
ment & course taken against religion for w^{ch} he is lyk to be
executed. And the whole Regents & others of the College of
Glasgow for the same opinion sumoned super inquirendi so
as yo^w may see we are afryd of nothing les [than that] the
world should be ignorant what mark we shoote at.

Edinb. Aug. 16. 1584.

" On thursday pcamçon was made here that all ministers
should giue vpp the rentalls of their benefices unto the exche-
quer to th'end that none hereafter receave any pftt of their
livings but such only as shall submit themselves and subscrybe
to their new framed pollicy. Mr Andrew Hay who wth diuers
others hath absolutely refused yt is cōmaunded to dept the
the country wthin xx dayes wth speciall inhibition not to re-
payre into Ingland or Ireland whose ayre they hold as conta-
gious and for the same cause the vniuersity of Glasow is by
the Bishopps diligence made vtterly vacant the colledge was
lockt vpp, the students dismissed, & the Regents and M^{rs} com-
mytted, the lyk curtesie being exercised towards them of St
Androwes and Abirdeene as if theis bishopps thought their glo-
ry and surety to stand in bringing in ignorance and confusion
into the schooles & by the same degrees corruption & Atheisme
into the church wherein their lab^r hath to great appearance of
effect, if this course be longe continewed.

The B. of St Androwes hath addressed one Mr Archibald
Harbishoune into England aswell to call home some of his
countrymen wth vs & of his own humor to occupy the roome

of honeste men as for some other purposes with the fr. ambassador.—There is little appearance that the Bishoppes here can longer brooke their newe empyre wth quiet either in respect to th^r cause or th^r psions w^{ch} are gnatly condempned. At St Androwes there was the last week an alarm given to the Bisshopp by certain of the students remayning there & others to the number of xx or xxx, psions every man with his harque-bust who bestowed the most pt of the night in shooting against the wyndowes both of the Castell where the B. laye and of his house in the towne leaving a testimony behind them of their good meaning towards him. On the morrow the Bisshopp thinking to haue gotten tryall of this fact caused the few students of the colledge w^{ch} were remaning to be conveened in the public schooles making very diligent inquisition of the former nights disorder but found nothing save that such as were suspect and examined though they denied their presence confessed they wished the Bisshopp so well as it was not so scender a revenge as that could satisfie them for the publique hurt he had done, and willed him to remember how fatall that sea had been to his predecessours & to looke for no better.

N^o VI. [Orig. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. no. 34.]

Extract of a Letter from Mr D. Andersone to certain ministers in Scotland, conveying information respecting Scotch Papists in Germany.

From Auspburgh in high Almanie the 27 of April 1596.

Right worshipfull and deare brethern in Christ—I. foreseeing the storme imminent and hearing of the pernicious intentions of the enemies, haue not desisted till I came to the knowledge, (yf not of all) yet of the most part of ther intentions actions & purposes, by using the help of good Christians, abhorers of idolatrie, man secrete, faythfull and prudent. At Rome Tirie the Jesuit, and Archibald Hamilton the apostat with great instance and manifold supplications have sollicited the pope Clement the 8, and College of Cardinals to erect a Seminarie ther for the education in Romish impietie of such

younglins, as by their direction doe come from Scotland ; who afterwards being made masse priests and Jesuits may be sent into Scotland for the propagation of popish religion with the ruine of the present estate of that realme : but nothing as yet is determined ; notwithstanding they are in hope that ther petition shall take effect, seeing Gregorie the 13 builded three semingries in Rome for strangers, one for the English, another for the Dutche, and the third for the Mauretanians or Africaines : but the matter is not so hottlie prosecuted now as it was before, by reason of Hamiltons death, who departed at Rome the 30 of Januarie 1596. Leslie bishop of Rosse, John Hamilton popish priest and Ligeur ; William Chrichton and James Gordon Jesuits, who remayne most commonlie in Brusels (except Gordon, who is most commonlie with Huntlie, and Arole, either at Leids with the bishop of Colen, or at Namur in the companie of Spaniards) are verie busie with Albert Cardinall of Austria, presentlie Lieutenant for the Spanish King in the Netherlands, for obtaining of sum aide to assist Huntlie and Arole with their complices in Scotland for the extirmination of all the professors of the true reformed religion in that realme ; I heare that Walter Lyndesay for the furtherance of ther matters is sent unto the King of Spaine ; but I hope in God, that they shall come short of ther expectations ; seeing the Spaniard hath more yrnies in the fyre than he can well handle, and more mightie princees in Christendome justlie his enemies, than he with all his forces is able to resist. The Spanish concile also taxeth the foresaid Earles of the breach of ther promise, who in the yeare 1592, (when the Spaniard concluded to aid the papists in Scotland with 20000 men) after the recete of great summes of Spanish gold, not only then but at diverse other tymes, oblisched themselves to take armes with all possible diligence agaynst all those of the reformed religion in Scotland, and also to advance the King of Spayns practizes not only ther, but also in England and Ireland, to the uttermost of ther power ; which nevertheless according to promise they have not performed. But they to excuse themselves, first alledge the reveling of ther inten-

tions, secondlie that Robert Bruce (a principal trafficker in those treasonable affayres) delivered not these summes of money unto them which were promised, partie for the hyring of souldiours ; and partie for the gratifying of gentlemen Romish Catholikes, and Clannes, to make them the more prompt and courageous in the Spanish service : for which cause Brusse is straitlie imprisoned ; and sharply accused by the forenamed Earles. In high Germanie the Scotish Papists have some abbayes präsentlie in possession ; as at Reusburgh in Bavaria, the abbots maner is James Whyte borne neere aberdene : the prior is called James Winniet (Ninian Winniets nephew Whits predecessor) ; monkis ther, Lesslie cosin to Lesslie the bishop ; Darnpall ; James Bog, John Bogs sone one of his majesties porters ; two novices are gone from thence to Rome, the one his name is Wddard borne in Edinburgh, he studied in prage with the Jesuits : the other is one Lermouth borne neere Sanctandrösse the laird of Darsies brother sone. Ther is also another popish priest sent to Rome by the Scotish abbots as I suppose, to obtaine a license of the pope that some of them may return into Scotland, to traffick ther with the papists and to bring some number of young boyes with them into Germanie (but more heareafter of this purpose). The popish priest that is sent to Rome is called Adame Sympsoun borne in Edinburgh, he was long a servant in Newbattle, afterward in france he served Archibald Hamilton the apostat, and from him he went with the Earle of Westmorland into Spaine ; lastlie he served George Carr, Trafficker for the Spaniards in Scotland. In the yeare of God 1594 and 1595 he said masse sometymes in the Lord Herise hous ; sometymes in Arolshous, and in the young lord of Bonitons hous called Wodd : he came last out of Scotland in the companie of Huntlie ; he is a verie craftie, crue , and pestiferous papist, but unlearned. The second Scottish abbey in Germanie is at Wirtzburg in Frankland ; the abbot ther is Richard Wrwin borne about Dumfrisse, he was sometymes servant to the old Lord Herise, and attended at Santsandroose in the old college on his sone Edward Maxwell now abbot of Dundrennen and lord of Lappington : he was sent

from Parise by the popish bishop of Glasgow to Winiet abbot of Reusburg, and ther made a monke ; he is a drunken, ignorant, subtil and malicious fellow. The prior at Wirtzburg is called frances Hamilton of the hous of Stanhouse, as he sayeth, but I rather thinke that he is one of the Hamiltons of Santandrosse ; he was sometymes at pont mison in Loraine, and afterwards studied under the Jesuits at Wirtzburg and Reusburg ; ther is not a more blasphemous cruel and vtragious enemie against the gospel of Christ of our nation then this Hamilton ; but withall a proud unlearned bodie : The third Scottishman at Wirtzburgh his name is John Stuard borne about Glasgow a boy of 18 years of age ; more monkes Scotishmen they have not, because none of our nation that feareth God will enter into so infamous and idolatrous a societie. The third Scottish abbey is at Erfurd in the land of Thuringia, the abbots name is John Walker, borne I think about Disert in Fyfe ; he is all alone for want of Scottish papists. The Scottish papists of the foresaid places have had a meeting at Wirtzburg the 19 of April 1596 according to the direction of the pops legat in Germanie, and the bishop of Wirtzburgh, called Julius Extar (one of the greatest enemies that the gospel of our Saviour hath in Germanie) for the electing of some of these Scottish papists to send into Scotland this yeare, and that for two causes cheiflie ; first, that they may learne the whole state and condition of the countrey, and consult with the papists ther, what is to be done for the subversion of the present state of religion in Scotland : secondlie to make a choice of chil-
dren between the age of 12 and 18 years to be broght into Germanie, partlie for the furnishing of their abbays, not only which præsentlie they possesse, but also of those places which they are in hope to obtaine at the pops and Emperours hands ; the abbayes are there, one in Vienna, two at Colen, one at Newstat, one at Ments, and another at Wormes : and partlie that these younglings may be educated with the Jesuits to be sent afterwards into Scotland for the effecting of ther purposes : the bishop of Wirtzburg hath promised to maintain at his charges threescore of these yong boyes, the Bishop of

Saltzburg fortie, and the bishop of Reusburg twentie till they be able to be made masse preists, Jesuits or monkes : It is thought that either Wrwin or Hamilton shall be sent this summer into Scotland for that purpose. The lard of Lethington called Metalen departed from the Earles at Lieds about the 20 of August 1595 towards Rome, in all his journey he had long and serious conferences with the Jesuits : Gordon and Crichton Scots Jesuits and one called Holt an English Jesuit gave him letters of recommendation to all those places, as also a direction to receave of the Jesuits at everie neede three hundred crownes for the better expedition of his affaires : what letters he had to the pope, college of Cardinals or the Spanish Ambassadour at Rome, either from enemies at home or abroad I know not : your wisdomes may judge that his going so long and tedious a journey was not for small trifles. Whiles he remayned in Scotland in the Lord Herise his father in laws house. he had great intelligence with many popish priests both English and Scottish but namely with one Sicill an English priest that lurketh most commonlie in the Lord Herises hous or in the borders not farr from thence : they use commonlie the help of a poore craftie knave, unsuspected of any man because of his outward simplicitie, in carying and recarying of letters between the papists of England and Scotland whose surname is Horsburgh, he hanteth in Dumfriese and those quarters. Places most dangerous in Scotland are the Southwest and Northeast where Gods, the kings, and whole realms enemies are receaved, harboured and interteyned. In Scotland præsentlie (yf they be not of late departed out of the land) there are Jesuits, Mackwhinry, Mirton, Abercromie and ane Murdoch, spies for the Spaniard, and notorious traitors to God, his church, the kings majestie, and the whole land. There is also in Germanie one named Archibald Anderson who is my half brother by the flesh a professor of the Greke tongue in the Jesuits Colledge at Gratz in the countrey of Stiria, whom I soght to reduce from that papisticall bondage ; but he knowing of my coming to Cramaw in Bohemia where then he remayned was suddenlie transported from thence by the Jesuits to Vienna.

Nº VI. [Melvini Epistolæ MSS. p. 29.]

Melvinus ad Senatum Anglicanum.

Artaxerxes cognomento memoriosus in veterem Judeorum ecclesiam ab exilio reducem Persarum Monarcha beneficentissimus, Legem de cultu divino et religione moderanda sanxit divinitus in hæc verba: *Quidquid est de sententia Dei cœlestis perficitor diligenter in domo Dei cœlestis: ut non sit fercens ira in regnum regem et filios ejus.* Hanc ego legem cum similibus sacrae scripturæ locis non negligentissime comparatam, multo antequam Angliam hac vice cogitassem, sæpe mecum et diu multumque pro munericis mihi divinitus mandati ratione, meditatus, tertio abhinc anno, Septembri mense vergente in æde Hamptoniana jussus sacris interesse, tam spectator, quam auditor insolens, pro re nata carmen breve et Dramaticum, Regiæ majestati, invocato numine, recitandum feci. Cujus exemplum inscio me descriptum et depravatum et mutilum postea Novembri præcipite, mihi coram amplissimo senatu criminis loco objectum: et anni insequentis adulto vere denuo exacerbatum fuit. In hac causa dicenda sine fuco et fallaciis more majorum, et meis versicolis a criminis atrocitate cuius affinis non essem libere vindicandis, si quid mihi tam necessario tempore meo, minus decore pro hujus gentis indole et regni moribus respondenti humanitus excidit, quod quemquam mortaliū jure offenderit, nedum Senatum amplissimum, ut ejus ego sive erroris, sive rusticitatis poenam biennali carcere adhuc fuo: ita veniam supplex primum a Deo patre indulgentissimo, deinde a Britanniarum Rege Clementissimo, denique ab amplissimo Senatus singulari æquanimitate etiam atque etiam peto.

Nº VIII. [Orig. in Arch. Eccles. Scotie. vol. xxviii. N° 6.]

Letter from Andrew Melville to Sir James Sempill
of Beltrees.

My diewtie humblie remembered Please yo^r w. being prevented by yo^r undeserved kindness, I am emboldened to aske your counsel and good advice at this tyme. I heare that the

Duke of Bullon hath requested his Ma. by letters and by my Lord Wotton Ambassadour, in my favour, and that his Ma. is not unwilling to shew me some gracious favour. Therfor I thought it my dewtie to offer my humble service unto the Prince Highnes as a naturall subject. And if bashfulnes wold suffer me to speak the truth, one come of those whome his ro yell progenitors hath acknowledged not only faithfull servants but also friendly kinsfolk. So that naturall affection should command me reverently to hono^r and faithfully to serve his Ma. and progeny, namely his highnes whome the Lord advanceth to succeed in the ro yall throne, which is established by two ground pillars Justice and Relligion, whereof the last hath been my calling and exerceis these 36 years at the least in my owne native countrie, except so much as England hath broken off the course of my ordinarie traveles. I was transported thirtie yeers ago by the advice & authoritie both of generall Asseembly and three estats at his Ma. command from Glasco (where six yeers the Lord had blessed my labours in letters & relligion to the comfort of the church & honour of the countrie) unto St Androis for reforming of the Universitie, and erecting a colledge of Divinitie for the profession of learned tonges & Theologie against the Seminaries of Rems and Rome: wherein I was placed by Commissionars both of Church and Counsell, authorized with his Ma. commission in most solemn manner. And I for my part, in modestie to utter the truth, I dare not say but I have been faithfull in my great weaknes notwithstanding mighty opposition: but these four yeers bypast and more I have been withholden from y^e doing of my dewtie to my countrie and church of God therein, as is notoriously knownen, to my great regrate. Now Reason and Conscience bind me to this obligation of my calling and discharge of my dewtie, if so it wold please his Ma. And I feare the necessitie of that holy work wold crave help, that the fountains of Learning and Relligion be not dried up in our barren country. And my old age doth no lesse crave, if not rest from travel, at the least an honest retreat from warefare within my own garison and corsgard, with hope of buriall with my ances-

tors. In the meane tym I offer my humble service unto the Prince his highnes, if your w. think it expedient, with the advise of my two intire and speciall friends Sir James Fowlarton and Mr Thomas Murray, to whom these presents will make my heartie commendacions. So taking my leave I recommend you Sr to the grace of God till a joyful meeting at his good pleasour.

Y^e in y^e Lord to be commandit

An. Melvyn.

London Tower this first
of December 1610.

N^o IX. [Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. N^o 42.]

Letter from Andrew Melville to Robert Durie at Leyden.

Right reverend and dearly beloved father in the Lord Jesus, your last letter was full of kyndly stuffe, and so was very sweet to me, namely your owne godly and constant resolution, quhareunto *adscribere me socium in utrumque tuum partum, ad * * * aut manendum, arbitratu nostri Censuram et auxilium.* *Tecum ego viuere amem, etiam obeam ergo libens.* Recceave fra this bearar, your sone Johne, his oration with thanks, and great hope he shall be a good instrument after our departing. We have heard nothing farther of Scotts or Inglysh newes, but only the returning of Mr. Digbie ambassadar from Spaine who be now adjoyned to the secret counsall for his faithfull service. So that we look to hear shortly of the L. Somerset & his la. and vyers their complices. We expect the returning of our duke and prince from Parise this weeke at the farrest, the peace being ratified from the parliament of Parise. From Mr. Johne Forbess never a word haue we yet receaved, and so remaine we in suspence: only the ministrie of Flissing as you wrait appears to say sumthing, wherof I gather little comfort or gratiouse answer from the monarcke. Lord be mercifull to his chosen and faithfull servants, *quibus ubi desinet humanum ibi incipit divinum auxilium.* In

uno Christo sunt omnia ad bene beateque viuendum. *Ipsa est lux, via veritas et vita. Ab ipso est Paracletus, καὶ παρακλητός, οὐ τὸ παρακλητόν τοῦ αὐτοῦ.* I thank you for Roseus and Godartius. things goes not euill as we haue heard. Bot we cannot bot feare the act from the state to the classes, howbeit we know not as yet the contents thereof. I thank you also for Mr. Robert Bruce that constant confessor and almost martyr of our Lord Jesus. The Lord [keep] him and his for ever. I never remember him and his w'out comfort and heart lift up to God And so I doe when I remembēr or hears or speaks of any of you all that suffers for Christ and his church. Faine wold I heare good things from Mr. William Scotte, Mr. Johne Carmichell & Mr. Johne Dykes whom I hope the Lord hath not left destitute of his good spirit, but that they shine as burning lamps in the mids of that confused darkness. Mr. Patrick Symson triumphes, whose ecclesiastick history I heare be cum furth bot not cum to our hands, *quam ego preio duplicito redimam.* I cannot tell whats becum of Mr. Jas. Carmichells labours, or whether he be yet aliae. Mr. Johne Davidsone left sum nots behind him of our tyme, and so did Mr. Johne Jonstoun. I speak nothing of my cousing. I wold all were safe to mak out a true narratioun to the posterity. I left with my lusing and faithful goosep your father in law Mr. Knox's letters. I wish them to be furthe cuming. Mak my harty commendations to him & his, and learne what you can of all.* —This in great haist, with commendations to all friends thair.

Tus ut sus,

An. Melville.

Sedani 24 Maij 1616.

* A paragraph here omitted has been inscribed above, pp. 446-7.

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ERRATA.

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Page 24, line 6, for *uncle*, read *nephew*.

— 298, — 12, from bottom, for *Maister of the High School of Edinburgh, and Minister of Logic*, read *Minister of Logic, and Maister of the High School of Edinburgh*.

— 306, — 11, from bottom, for *Catalina Categum*, read *Catalina Categum*.

— 386, — 8, for *proceedings*, read *procedure*.

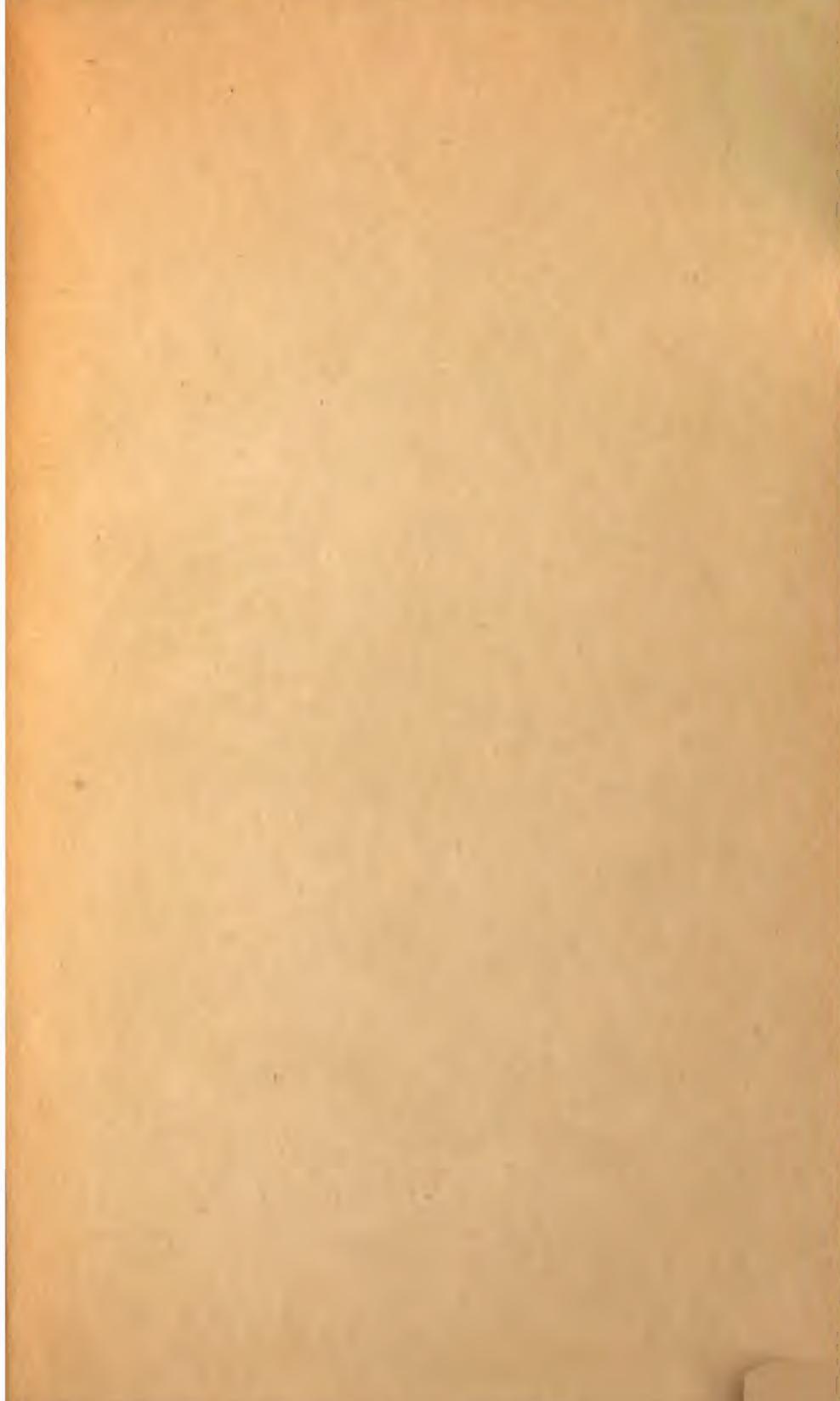
— 430, — 9, from bottom, for *to*, read *from*.

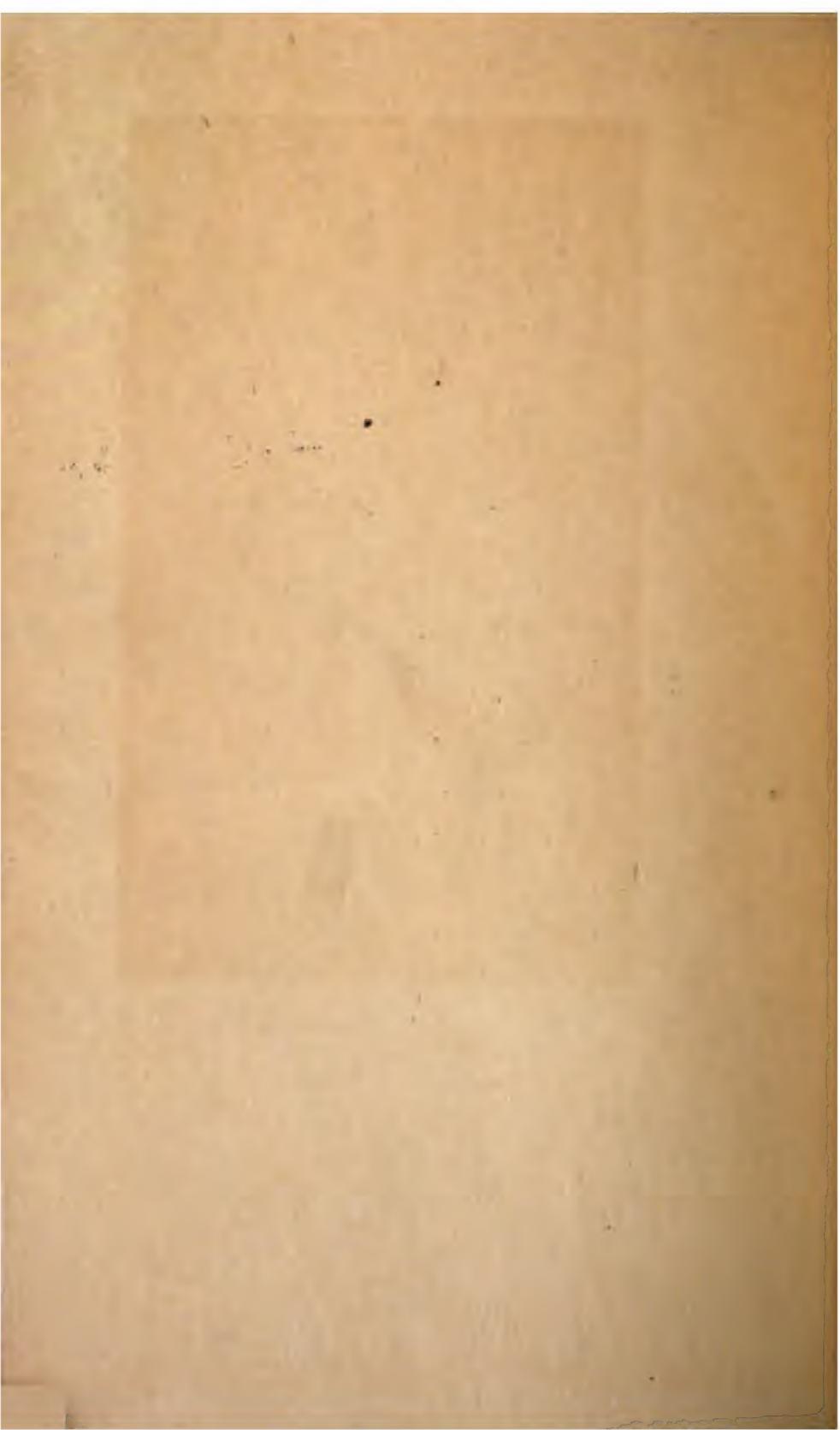
— 510, — 5, from bottom, for *Theologis*, read *Theologica*.

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